

THE
COLLECTED
WORKS
OF
MAHATMA
GANDHI

XCV
(S-V)



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VOLUME NINETY-FIVE
(SUPPLEMENTARY-V)



PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

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PREFACE

The present volume covers the largest span of time (June 1900 – around December 25, 1947) and in addition contains more than two hundred undated items. This span is covered by our 87 volumes (Volume I to Volume LXXXVII). In a way it could be a true representative of this hundred-volume series and in some respects it is.

The volume opens with a farewell address by the Indian subscribers in Durban to Dr. Lancelot Parker Booth who had been kind enough to provide free medical assistance to the poor, irrespective of caste or creed. The volume gives glimpses of the violation of the Agreement of 1914 and postponement of passive resistance against it in South Africa. Gandhiji's unflinching support to the cause of Indians in South Africa can be seen in the beginning of the volume. "It is my firm conviction that Indians in South Africa must not submit to the latest racial legislation of the Union of South Africa. They have well nigh exhausted all constitutional means of seeking redress. Therefore they have at their disposal the matchless weapon of satyagraha which was successfully tried for the first time in South Africa" (p. 129).

In between comes 'Gandhi, the good life'. He will go on advising his close associates or anybody who comes in contact with him or seeks his advice on matters of day-to-day requirements. "Remember this much that no one gives or takes from anyone. This does not mean that we do not take anything from anyone. But that act of taking is to be performed by us. The Ganga flows for everyone. It does not on its own give anything to anyone. But one draws from it according to one's need" (p. 189). One wonders how this great soul would render advice on innumerable fronts. He had plenty of ideas which could be shared by all, even though 'one in a million' could follow some of them. But then he would at once make it for all. "It would, of course, be best if a woman could remain unmarried her whole life. But only one in a million would be able to do so. Desire for a marriage is a natural thing. There is nothing to be ashamed of in it. To believe marriage to be fall has an adverse effect on the mind and causes harm in many other ways. The best way is to treat marriage as a religious duty and to exercise the utmost self-restraint in the married state" (p. 173). Gandhiji often recollects the casual remarks by friends or relatives and uses them for the benefit of others when any such occasion arises. In the early days his mother must have enlightened him about one's rights. He suddenly recollects her words and puts forth a new idea : ". . . all rights to be

deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be usurpation hardly worth fighting for. I wonder if it is too late to revise the idea of defining the rights of man apart from his duty” (p. 142).

The last pages of the dated items of the volume mark the prelude to the final transfer of power to India and hint at the ‘seeds’ sown by the vested interests that later grew as a tragedy that was to accompany the great triumph. When Mr. Evelyn Wrench tells Gandhiji Mr. Jinnah’s conviction that Muslims will never be subservient to Hindu authority, he promptly denies it. “The Muslim is as much an Indian as I am and of the same blood. There is no fundamental cleavage between Hindus and Mussalmans. We have lived in the same land as brothers for generations and what has been possible all these years will certainly be possible in the future” (p. 119). According to him, Jinnahsaheb resorts unconsciously to untruth and speaks as a disappointed man does in order to maintain his view at any cost” (pp. 118-9).

Gandhiji was a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and efficacy of the charkha. These formed part of his constructive programme. Whenever he was free from political life he used to spend most of his time in propagating or implementing the constructive programme. The present volume also takes the reader to the scene of this programme. According to him, “to live, man primarily requires two things – food and clothing. And the means to solve the problem are simple. One way is to accept gifts. But begging never helps the poor to solve their problem. On the contrary, they lose their spirit and become weak and indolent. Another way is to take up a job. But service, too, does not make one self-reliant. The third way is to produce the things one needs. There are two means of doing that : the charkha and the mill” (p. 175). But Gandhiji would prove supremacy of the charkha. Let us see how : “But if unfortunately for the country it is attacked by bombs, the first targets will be the mills and not the houses where the charkha is plied. If, when the mills are razed to the ground as a result of the bombing, the charkha and the *takli* are plying, we shall not feel helpless and the world will see that though India’s mills had been reduced to ashes, she was still standing on her feet” (ibid.). The word ‘bombing’ here has a reference to ‘possibility of a third world war’.

“If a third world war breaks out”, says Gandhiji, “it is doubtful whether we shall not be dragged into it. But I leave that question aside, though I can say with confidence that if India only makes up her mind not only can she keep herself away from war but she has the strength to prove to the world the futility of war” (ibid.).

The third war never came but there had been aggressions here and there during the time of which Gandhiji was blamed in certain quarters for taking side with one and opposing the other country. By some, his views on non-violence were also questioned. Gandhiji had to explain his position time and again. “As a matter of fact, I wrote strongly against Japan’s misdeeds as I did against those of Great Britain and I put down in writing the non-violent way of resisting Japan’s aggression on India. Much more baseless is the charge about my ‘agreement to the use of weapons in case of a brother-war between Hindustan and Pakistan’. My writings would show the contrary. My views against war and on non-violence remain just as strong as they ever were” (p. 169).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner ; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. A section of undated items follows these in the volume.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad ; G. N. refers to those available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi and C. W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

A list of sources relating to the matter covered is given at the end of the volume.

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1. FAREWELL ADDRESS TO DR. LANCELOT PARKER BOOTH¹

DURBAN,
June 29, 1900

We the undersigned Indian subscribers place on record on the eve of your withdrawal from Indian work in this Colony, the sense of gratitude the Indian community owes you for your many acts of charity and kindness. To the poor among us you have been a friend and benefactor, irrespective of creed or caste. Many of us know from personal experience how we could rely upon your free medical assistance at all times. Your gentleness and kind sympathy have often succeeded where medicine alone would fail. The Indian Hospital, which was the direct result of your 17 years' labour in alleviating human suffering, is a standing testimony to your work in that direction.

Your services in connection with the Indian Ambulance Corps, the training you were good enough to give the ambulance class, also much sacrifice of time, the willingness with which you offered to accompany the corps in spite of pressing duties in Durban, your medical aid to bearers at the front and your counsel to the leaders, can hardly be overvalued by the Indian community.

We may say without exaggeration that you have presented to us a pattern of an upright Englishman and good, gentle Christian who knows no distinction between Jew and Gentile. The fact that half the number of Indian schools owe their existence to your energy is an indication of your efforts on behalf of the masses.

It is hard for us to tender you, unmixed with sorrow, our congratulations on your preferment. Umtata's gain is our loss. You leave behind you a gap; it will be difficult to fill. The congregation of your church may find an equally eloquent preacher and as safe a guide, but where shall your congregation find so faithful, sympathetic and tried a friend whom they have learnt to know and love for close upon two decades? As a slight token of our esteem for you, we beg of you to accept this address and the accompanying purse for the benefit of your Indian Hospital.

¹ This was drafted by Gandhiji on behalf of the Indian Community on the eve of Rev. Booth's departure from Cape Colony to take up an appointment in Umtata

We wish you and Mrs. Booth a happy time in your new sphere and pray that the Almighty may long spare you and your wife to continue your work of love.

The Leader, 3-9-1993

2. LETTER TO D.A. REES

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
JOHANNESBURG,
March 26, 1908

DEAR MR. REES¹,

I now return the Ms.² left by you. I have made some alterations when I thought they were necessary. I hope you will be able to decipher them. It gives a fairly complete summary of the situation.

If I do not have the pleasure of seeing you again, I wish you a happy time in England. I send you the latest number of *Indian opinion*, and, if you will care to keep yourself in touch with the Indians in South Africa, I shall be pleased to place your name on the complimentary list. Will you, then, kindly let me know your permanent address?

I am,
Yours truly,
M.K. GANDHI

REV. MR. REES
ESQ. C/O T.R. PRICE, ESQ.
BYRNTIRION
BEREA

From a copy : Duncan Papers. Courtesy : University Library, Cape Town

¹ Methodist missionary

² *Vide* Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 67-76.

3. LETTER TO J. X. MERRIMAN

LONDON,
July 15, 1909

DEAR MR. MERRIMAN¹,

I have taken the liberty of speaking to Lord Ampthill² regarding the interest you have taken in our struggle,³ and his Lordship has promised to seek an interview with you. I hope that something will come out of your private effort. I need hardly say that the whole thing has been kept absolutely confidential.

We have just received a cablegram saying that the struggle has taken its first victim. A young Indian⁴ who was serving imprisonment as a passive resister, was discharged in a dying condition and died six days after his discharge. There are at present about 100 Indians in the Transvaal gaols and during the struggle, over 2,500 Indians have passed through them.

The question as I have told you, is exceedingly simple. All we want is repeal of the Asiatic (Registration) Act, which is now considered no longer necessary by General Smuts: the repeal, placing the status of highly educated Indians on a footing of equality under the Immigration Law, leaving it open to the administration under the education test, to make it so severe as to debar from the Colony more than say six persons per year. What we bitterly resent is the racial bar, involving as it does a national insult.

¹ John Xavier Merriman (1841-1926); Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1908-10

² Arthur Oliver Villiers Russell, Second Baron of Ampthill (1869-1936); Governor of Madras, 1899-1906; acted as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1904; took active interest in the Indian struggle in South Africa and was President of the S.A.B.I Committee. He wrote the introduction to Doke's Biography of Gandhiji.

³ Gandhiji went to London after serving a prison sentence for organizing a non-submission campaign against the Immigrants' Restriction Act.

⁴ Sammy Nagappen, who died on July 6, 1909; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 299.

I hope you will not mind my troubling you in this matter.

*I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M.K.GANDHI*

J. X. MERRIMAN
REFORM CLUB, LONDON

The correspondence of John X. Merriman, pp. 139-40

4. LETTER TO J.X. MERRIMAN

4 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
July 16, 1909

DEAR MR. MERRIMAN,

I am much obliged to you for your courteous note.

Of course I have no claim upon your attention, save what your humanity may prompt you to allow me.

I take it in any case that you will see Lord Amphilhill if he writes to you, and do what you reasonably can.

*I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI*

THE RIGHT HON. J. X. MERRIMAN
REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL, S.W.

From a photostat : Gandhiji's Letters to Merriman. Courtesy : South African Library, Cape Town

5. LETTER TO W. P. SCHREINER

July 24, 1909

DEAR SIR¹,

Mr. Hajee Habib, President of the Pretoria Anjuman-e-Islam and I, as you may be aware, are in London as a deputation on behalf of the Transvaal British Indians in connection with the struggle that has now gone on in that Colony for the last two years and a half.

We have heard a great deal about your noble and self-sacrificing work in connection with the welfare of the coloured races of South Africa under the Draft South Africa Act.²

If you would kindly appoint a time, my colleague and I would like to make your acquaintance and pay our respects to you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

THE HON. W. P. SCHREINER
TRAFALGAR SQUARE
MORLEY'S HOTEL, W.C.

From a photostat : BC. 112 file 12 (3.1). Courtesy: University Library,
Cape Town, South Africa

¹ William Philip Schreiner (1857-1919); politician and barrister; High Commissioner for Union of South Africa in England, 1914; twice Attorney-General; Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1898-1900

² *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 273, 364 and 365.

6. *LETTER TO W.P. SCHREINER*

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL ,
4 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,
August 17, 1909

DEAR MR. SCHREINER,

You have permitted me to write to you on that part of the Asiatic question which we discussed the other day. I have now time to avail myself of your permission.

You will recall the question. The present legislation of the Transvaal creates a racial distinction as to immigration – i. e., no new Asiatic, however cultured he may be, may enter the Transvaal because he is an Asiatic. Indians contend that this is a departure from the traditional colonial policy and that it is unnecessary. The Cape, Natal and Australia make good their policy of restricting Asiatic immigration by having an education test applicable to all, but varying in its severity. This policy cannot be described as dishonest because the scope of the Act is known to all. But to prohibit even a very limited immigration of Asiatics as such, is to put a deliberate affront on a whole race. Moreover the recognition of such a racial distinction cannot fail to reflect upon the resident Asiatic population and be used as a precedent for further disabling legislation. From the Colonial standpoint too there would seem to be no justification for the drastic policy underlying the Transvaal Act. British Indians accept the policy of virtual exclusion. The question is as to the manner of procuring it. The Transvaal manner importing the colour bar offends the self-respect of Asiatics. Hence the terrible suffering undergone by over 2,500 Indian passive resisters.

If you will give my colleague and me an appointment, we would wait upon you.¹ I am personally more conjustice of our aspirations

¹ The meeting took place on August 21.

than with agitating for relief from the Imperial Government.

I am,
Yours truly,
M.K. GANDHI

THE HONOURABLE W.P. SCHREINER
MORLEY'S HOTEL
TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.

From a photostat : BC 112, file 12 (3.1). Courtesy: University Library,
Cape Town, South Africa

7. LETTER TO J.X. MERRIMAN

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
April 13, 1910

DEAR MR. MERRIMAN,

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of *Indian Home Rule* which is a translation by me of a Gujarati booklet¹ I wrote during the return voyage. Busy though you are. I hope that you will find time to go through it; and if you could favour me with your opinion on it I should greatly appreciate it.

I am,
Yours truly,
M.K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON. JOHN X. MERRIMAN
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat: Gandhiji's Letters to Merriman. Courtesy: South African Library, Cape Town

¹ *Hind Swaraj*

8. LETTER TO UMIYASHANKAR MEHTA

*Chaitra Sud 7 [March 25, 1912]*¹

CHI. UMIYASHANKAR,

May be I could not quite explain. Condensed milk should not be taken as it is. It should be diluted with hot water and banana should be mashed into it. Try a quarter of a banana in four tea-spoons of milk. Do not be scared. You may continue giving it if it agrees. Banana is a very nutritious food. Mr. Polak's² Waldo used to be given a banana and Mellin's Food. Rami is being given bananas.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1629. Courtesy: Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

9. LETTER TO UMIYASHANKAR MEHTA

*Monday [Before April, 1912]*³

CHI. UMIYASHANKAR,

Received your letter. The fire in the shop thus resulted in much damage. Fortunately, it has not affected [your] reputation.

I am very sad to read about Chhabildas. I can never be agreeable to fixing a betrothal after taking money. Instead, the clearer way would be not to marry at all. You brothers should also give him the same advice.

Blessings from
BAPU

¹ From the contents it appears that the letter was written in 1912; *vide* also Vol. XI, p.s. 237. *Chaitra Sud 7* in 1912 corresponded to March 25.

² H.S.L. Polak

³ From the reference to Chhabildas Mehta's betrothal it appears this was written before April 1912. Gandhiji refers to his wife in his letter dated April 13, 1912; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 258.

[PS.]

Have you not read or not understood what you should eat with the exception of the greens?

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 1632. Courtesy : Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

10. LETTER TO EMILY HOBHOUSE

110 FIELD STREET, DURBAN,
January 5, 1914

DEAR MISS HOBHOUSE¹,

It was a perfect pleasure to have received your very kind and generous letter. Had I known how to approach you before, I would undoubtedly have endeavoured to enlist your large heart in our behalf. It was during the Boer war that I came to admire your selfless devotion to Truth, and I have often felt how nice it would be if the Indian cause could plead before you for admission; and it is evident to me that your first telegram² uttering a note of warning was an answer to that yearning. I am loathe to write to you on this question, as Miss Molteno³ has told me how feeble you are now in health. She was good enough to read to me a part of Miss Greene's⁴ letter, telling her in most pathetic tones how it was the duty of those who loved you to refrain from imposing fresh burdens on you. I am, therefore, torn by conflicting emotions. But, as Miss Molteno, who knows you better assures me that [*sic*] to expect you now not to interest yourself in our cause

¹ Miss Emily Hobhouse, the daughter of Lord Hobhouse, who at the time of the Boer War, moved among the Boer women and encouraged them to stand up against the concentration camps; *vide* Vol. XIX, p. 148 and Vol. XLVIII, p. 288.

² Of December 27, 1913, which read: "Kindly postpone the rally by fifteen days on the plea of an humble woman like me." *Vide* also Vol. XII, p.301.

³ Elizabeth Mari (Betty) Molteno (1852-1927); eldest daughter of Sir John Charles Molteno, the first Prime Minister of Cape Colony; she did her best for the Indians in South Africa.

⁴ Alice Greene, sister of Graham Greene, was a friend and companion of Miss Molteno.

is to misjudge you and to aggravate your illness, because you would, she says, fret about us without being enabled by us to render your assistance effective.

If your health permits and if the climate on the North Coast of Natal would not be too trying for you, I would esteem it a privilege if you could take rest on the little settlement at Phoenix where *Indian Opinion*¹ is published. Miss Molteno knows the settlement well. It is situated about eighty feet above sea-level and is exposed to certain winds which sweep across the hills that overlook the settlement and purify the atmosphere. The scenery around is certainly very charming, the site is beautifully isolated, there is no bustle or noise, it is two miles from the nearest station and I venture to think that you will find loving hands to administer to your wants, and nothing would give me personally greater pleasure than, if I were free, to be able to wait upon you and nurse you. You will, I hope, consider this offer as coming from the heart and without the slightest hesitation accept it if you can.

I will not weary you with copies of correspondence and details about the question. I enclose the telegrams² exchanged between General Smuts and myself, which speak for themselves. We have always accepted what we could get in matters of detail, but, in this matter of the Commission³, we are solemnly bound to sacrifice ourselves for the principle of consultation.⁴ In striving to secure this recognition of an elementary right, if we must, for the time being, forfeit public sympathy, we must be prepared to do so. Knowing that the truth is on our side, past experience will enable us to have patience, and, as days go on, the mists of ignorance will be removed, the cloud will lift and I have no doubt that Truth will conquer. What we have asked for is the smallest measure and, if the Government

¹ A Weekly published by Gandhiji

² *Vide* Vol. XII.

³ Indian Grievances Commission; *ibid.* p. 272, fns. 1&2.

⁴ *ibid* pp.; 277-8.

obstinately refuses to grant that measure of justice, surely it will be an indication of their disinclination to recognize the status of British Indians throughout the Union. Indeed, through my twenty years' experience, I have been able to gather many an indication of the same spirit and it is really against that that we are fighting. In those matters to which Passive Resistance is directed, I hold there can be no compromise. Could Daniel have compromised by bowing to one of the laws of Medes and the Persians and not to others, or would the whole body of those laws have represented the influence of Satan and, therefore, been unacceptable *in toto*?

The last paragraph of your letter seems to assume that we are following the tactics of the high-souled militants of England. May I say that we have not only not copied them, but, wherever it has been necessary, I have drawn a sharp distinction between their methods and ours. Indeed, I used to have long discussions with the followers of the great Mrs. Pankhurst¹ on this very question. At no stage do we believe in the use of physical force, but I am free to confess that we have certainly been encouraged, in the hour of our weakness, by the noble example of devotion to duty and self-sacrifice that the militants have set, though we condemn their methods and tactics as suicidal and beneath the dignity of woman.

I hope that God will restore you to health and spare you for many a long year to continue your noble and unassuming work in the cause of Humanity.

*I am,
Yours truly*

MISS HOBHOUSE
THE COTTAGE
KENIL WORTH
CAPE TOWN

From a copy : C. W. 11345. Courtesy : E. S. Reddy, New York

¹ Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928), leader of the suffragette movement in England; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 37.

11. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENEO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 23, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTENEO,

My impression is that I said we would call on you tomorrow (Tuesday), but Dr. Gool¹ does not remember. Not to make any mistake we shall be coming there between 3 and 4 tomorrow and take our chance.

The visit to Miss Hobhouse was entirely successful. It was a perfect pilgrimage for me. Mrs. Botha² was all you described her. She was most kind to both of us and most loving towards Mrs. Gandhi. Thank you for all this. Incidentally, we met lady Gladstone too & ??³ Are you not pleased?

With our regards to you and Miss Greene,

I remain,
Your sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy : University of Capetown Libraries

12. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENEO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
February 24, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTENEO,

I am sorry to have to inform you that Mrs. Gandhi has had a relapse and she is at the time of writing lying in bed. She wants me therefore to say that whilst she would try her best to keep the appointment for tomorrow, she might not be able to go out at all. I thought that I should let you know this. In any case I shall expect you

¹ Dr. J.H. Gool

² Wife of Gen. Louis Botha

³ As in the source

tomorrow afternoon and we shall be able to discuss. If she is very ill, I would also have to remain in to be by her side. It is a great pity events have turned out so. But man proposes?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M.K.GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy: University of Capetown Libraries

13. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 27, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

How nice of both of you to have come yesterday! I was out seeing Miss Hobhouse at her request. She wished to discuss the marriage question¹ with me. I am deeply grateful to you for having brought me in contact with that noble soul. To be with her is a spiritual uplifting for me.

We meet on Monday.

With regards from us to you both.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy : University of Capetown Libraries

¹ *Vide* Vol. XII pp. 345-6.

14. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPETOWN,
*March 8, 191[4]*¹

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

I am sorry both of you had to rush away yesterday. I was in the act of shaving when you were announced. You had hardly gone when I came out of the bath room.

You will be glad to learn that Mrs. Gandhi is decidedly better today. I had a most anxious week but if today's condition continues the danger is over for the time being.

I enclose for your acceptance and Miss Greene's a copy of Mr. Andrews lecture². If you want more copies or if you want me to send copies elsewhere please let me know.

With regards to you both from us both,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy : University of Capetown Libraries

¹ From the contents

² On Rabindranath Tagore addressed to University students on February 17 in the Capetown City Hall; *Vide* also vol. XII, PP. 353 and 385.

15. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTENO

PHOENIX,
May 19 [1914]¹

DEAR MISS MOLTENO,

I know that I owe you a letter. But since leaving Cape Town I have passed through so many trials that I have not had the time or the inclination to write really to anybody. Mrs. Gandhi had a very serious relapse and she absorbed all my time. Then followed a disciplinary fast of 14 days the severest trial of my life.² The fast was broken on Saturday last and I am feeling much better today. Mrs. Gandhi too has responded to the careful nursing and today for the first time after my return to Phoenix I am at the Press working at the desk having just left Mrs. Gandhi to her household work.

Now I know you will excuse me why I should not have written a line to you after that very serious last conversation we had. Do please let me hear from you.

I had a very sweet letter from Miss Hobhouse this week. I am not replying just yet but may do so next week.

Mrs. Gandhi often recalls your love to her and thinks of the kind friends in Cape Town.

Manilal is still in Johannesburg with Mr. Kallenbach.

With our united regards to both of you,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers : Courtesy : University of Cape Town Libraries

¹ From the contents

² *Vide* also Vol. XII, p. 410 *fn.*

16. LETTER TO ELIZABETH MARI MOLTEÑO

July 20, 1914

DEAR MISS MOLTEÑO,

I had your two letters. I am sorry we were not able to meet to say goodbye to one another. Mrs. Gandhi and I cannot forget the affection you and Miss Greene showed us during our stay in Cape Town. May God reward you for it.

Do please write to me occasionally. My address will be Rajkot via Bombay.

With our united regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Molteno Murray Family Papers. Courtesy : University of Cape Town Libraries

17. LETTER TO V.S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AHMEDABAD,

July 23, 1915

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR¹,

I hope you will succeed soon in getting me a Tamil teacher. I do not think holding meetings is necessary. But briefest representations shall go to the Viceroy from all the public bodies. These should be duly advertised in the press and there should certainly be vigorous newspaper agitation. The impending publication of my letter to the press regarding the S.A. accounts² may be seized as a proper opportunity for starting the campaign.

I hope Mrs. Shastriar is now free from her disease.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 11331. Courtesy : T.N. Jagadisan

¹ President, Servants of India Society

² *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 107-13.

18. LETTER TO VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH

AHMEDABAD,
*Bhadarva Sud 6 [September 15, 1915]*¹

DEAR SISTER,

I am grateful to you as well as to Shri Ramanbhai² for the translation you have sent. What I require, however, is the meaning of the *bhajan*. I want to have its spirit conveyed in our language.

We do not have an expression corresponding to दयामयी ज्योति ('Kindly Light'). एक पगलानी आशा³ does not convey the same sense as in 'one step enough for me'. It should not be difficult for us to find from among our literary works an expression parallel to Newman's thought.⁴

Do not charge me while giving an inch with asking for an ell. Please do not take what I have said as criticism.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS KARAM CHAND

[From Gujarati]
Vidyabehn Nilkanth Jeevan Jhanki

19. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

*Wednesday [After January 9, 1919]*⁵

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. It cannot be concluded that because the goat is a restless animal, the person who drinks goat's milk will also become restless.

¹ The date is evident from the contents of the letter. *Bhadarva Sud 6* in 1915 corresponded to this date.

² Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, addressee's husband

³ 'Hope of one step'

⁴ Subsequently, *Premal Jyoti Taro Dakhavi*, Narasimharao Divetia's Gujarati translation of Gandhiji's favourite hymn, Newman's Lead, Kindly Light, came to be accepted; *vide* also Vol. XLIX, pp. 485-6.

⁵ From the reference to consumption of goat's milk which Gandhiji began from January 9, 1919; *vide* also Vol. XV, pp. 71, 73-4 and 84.

I am already taking milk twice a day. If I do so three times a day it will only give me loose motions. Putting soda into curd certainly changes its properties.

I do not have rheumatism at all. But many people have pain in the joints from exhaustion. Such is the case with me. But now the pain is very much reduced. Had it been due to rheumatism it would have become aggravated rather than subsided. The reason why I am writing all this is that you should learn to come to correct conclusions. Many people draw incomplete conclusions. It is like one-sided judgement. Do you understand?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS]

Ask Reench if he remembers me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3728

20. LETTER TO IMAM ABDUL KADIR BAWAZEER

Wednesday morning [April 9, 1919]¹

DEAR IMAM SAHEB,

I shall be going to jail today. I have kept awake all night. Now it is three o' clock in the morning. But how can I help writing to you? If the reason for my imprisonment is not given in the press, ask me to write. You do not have to come now.

I have neglected Fatima. Andrews continues to take the strain. I have found a very good young man here. His age is twenty-two years. His physique is good. He was a teacher. He is participating

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's arrest; he was arrested on April 9, 1919 while on his way to Delhi from Bombay, for defying the order of the Punjab Government banning his entry into Punjab; *vide* also Vol. XV, pp. 207-9.

in the struggle here. Hence he is jobless. He is poor. Right now I am very much impressed by him. He has no father. His mother is not the kind who would interfere. So, if he agrees, it would be as if I had come here just to see him. Still I shall investigate more. He will be in frequent touch with me.¹

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I find I have mislaid your address. So I am sending [the letter] at the Jumma Masjid.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10785. Courtesy : Ghulam Rasool Qureshi

21. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI²

Wednesday [June 1919]³

RESPECTED BHAISHRI,

I do not remember to have received your letter earlier. I was myself wondering if you had forgotten me.

If a person like you would adopt swadeshi, it can be spread in India in no time. The work which the native states can do in the . . . condition cannot be done in British India.

I think it is difficult to visit Kathiawar at present.

If one spinning-wheel is plied for 360 days and it is done every day, 180 lbs. of yarn would be spun, and if one loom weaves cloth from 360 lbs of yarn and every man (villager) takes 12 yards of cloth . . . that one loom would provide cloth for 30 persons in a year.

¹ Fatima Bibi was married to Saiyad Hussain Miya Uraizee on April 26, 1920; *vide* Vol.XVII, p.328.

² Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

³ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XV, pp.44-5 and 408.

The mill yarn which is suitable for khadi costs Rs.37 per maund at present. This yarn is made from the waste cotton left after preparing fine yarn. The mill spends Rs.15 per maund for this cotton. Thus, the mill makes a profit of Rs.22, or takes Rs.22 as spinning charge for the cotton worth Rs. 15. Cotton for hand-spinning must be of good quality and it costs Rs.25. Deducting from that figure the labour and waste, it would come to Rs. 15. Thus, looking at the prices at present, we have to spend Rs.3 more. But the cloth made from hand-spun yarn is twice more durable. There is likelihood of much difference in this price, because the cotton market keeps on changing every day.

If good cotton is used for spinning there, the Ashram is prepared to buy the whole stock of that yarn at the rate of three annas a *seer*. I have no provision if the stock is very large. Thus, with the increased price of cotton, one would get three annas per *seer* as the spinning charge. This is the way I get the work done by 200 women at Bijapur. These women were sitting idle before they got this job. Altogether, cloth worth Rs.20,000 was prepared in the Ashram or under the auspices of the Ashram during the last year. It provided employment to 400 men and women.

Apart from this cloth worth Rs. . . . was ordered to be woven for the Famine [Relief] Committee. This was done in an atmosphere of hostility. People are very much attracted by machinery. Hence I have rarely found help except from the poor people. A couple of friends have given financial help. It is only now that hand-weaving has become a 'fashion'. If you can adopt this work for Kathiawar, the people would be prosperous and they would easily be delivered from the state of dependence. The nation whose needs are provided from outside either remains dependent, or it has to be prepared to fight with force by maintaining an army.

Jaishrikrishna from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have written in pencil. Please excuse me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4122

22. LETTER TO JETHALAL SAMPAT

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI

Wednesday [September, 1919]¹

DEAR JETHALAL,

The doubt you raise has been answered in my reply. So I do not reproduce it in *Navajivan*. We have got to stick to swadeshi in all things. So I cling to the trunk of the tree. I can have no interest in electricity, etc. Others can take that up. What I am doing harms no one. And the handloom and the spinning-wheel can never harm anyone. Even today handlooms are working side by side with the mills. I am developing them. We should create conditions where, 21 crores, sitting at home, can carry on their occupation. For further clarification of your doubt, you must regularly see the *Navajivan*. Everyone certainly cannot do everything. Activities should be distributed.

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati in Devanagari script : C.W. 9843. Courtesy Narayan Jethalal Sampat

¹ The period has been inferred from the reference to *Navajivan*, the first issue of which appeared in September 1919 under the editorship of Gandhiji, who wrote widely on the subject of handloom and spinning-wheel during the year 1919; *vide* also Vol.XVI, p. 134-5.

23. LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBATTA

BAZAR GATE STREET,
BOMBAY,
[October 2, 1919]¹

DEAR MRS. KHAMBATTA,

Your letter was redirected to me at Sabarmati. I am glad you are going to assist in the national undertaking². I am endeavouring to popularize [spinning]. I am arranging to send you 4 spinning-wheels. The price is Rs.4 each. A lady teacher could attend from Saturday next for one hour between 2 and 3 p.m. Needless to say she is a volunteer. Will you please drop a line to Mr. Mathuradas Trikumji at the address given above as to the appointment and he will bring the teacher to you. I am leaving Bombay tomorrow evening.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 75636; also C.W. 5038. Courtesy : Tehminabehn Khambatta

¹ From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol. I, p.200. Gandhiji left Bombay for Ahmedabad on this day.

² Swadeshi

24. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

LAHORE,
*Monday [October 27, 1919]*¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have received your letter. Of course, you have my blessings. I think your straightforwardness will take you far. I wish all your great aspirations are fulfilled. Take care of your health.

It seems I will not be able to come there for the present. There is a lot of work to do. I have met the Governor. But right now there is no time to write in detail. I shall leave for Delhi tomorrow. See the letter regarding the application that has been sent to Chandulal. Make the necessary changes in it.

I wish you would carry on all the work to be done there. Relieve me from the anxiety about things there.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32710

25. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

LAHORE,
*[After November 5, 1919]*²

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. Umar has left today. At the moment I am tied down here and cannot say when I shall be able to come. We shall attend to the question of Hindi only when I come. The struggle may be an intense one. Do you sometimes go to the Ashram? Chhotalal has written a long letter. I wish you to read it.

¹ From the reference to the meeting with the Governor, which took place on October 27, 1919. Gandhiji left Lahore for Delhi on October 28, a Tuesday.

² From the contents. Gandhiji was in Lahore from November 5 to November 16 and then again from December 12 to December 22, 1919.

All that you write about the mill workers is correct. May you have the capacity to impart to them real training.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32706

26. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

[Before *December 17, 1919*]¹

I am enclosing an article on Indians abroad for *Young India*, as also a report of the Deputation's discussions with Smuts. They are in no way confidential. It does not seem likely that I shall be there before January. But I hope to reach there when the Hunter Committee commence work. The text of my statement is ready in my mind.² I will put it on paper when I get some time.

I got the two large envelopes you sent containing numerous letters. They are badly torn. This convinces me that we cannot escape spending more money. The cloth-lined envelopes are stronger and you should use them.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7928 A

¹ From the reference to the article "Indians Abroad", published in *Young India*, 17.12.1919; vide Vol.XVI, pp. 350-2.

² For Gandhiji's statement to the Disorders Inquiry Committee, *ibid.* pp.368-72.

27. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

LAHORE,
Friday [On or before January 30, 1920]¹

RESPECTED ANASUYABEHN,

For the moment I am not too crowded here. I feel like writing to you about swadeshi. Are you paying attention to it at all? It is a stupendous work. It is fraught with difficulties but unless it is taken in hand there is no chance for the country to overcome starvation.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 11572

28. NOTE TO PAUL ROCHE²

[After March 26, 1920]³

Krishnaji Ananta will show you how to use this. I should so much have liked to do that myself. Don't forget India when you grow up. We'll always need good Englishmen.

Your friend,
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[PS.]

*Niger sum ego Led pulche.*⁴

Profiles of Gandhi, p. 18

¹ From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol. I, p.211.

² This was reproduced in *Profiles of Gandhi* from *New Yorker*. The addressee, a boy of 9, had met Gandhiji at Sinhgarh and asked him about the spinning-wheel. Gandhiji made the boy sit by his side, but while he was talking to somebody else the boy's courage failed him and he ran away. The next day Gandhiji sent him a large spinning-wheel with this note.

³ Gandhiji visited Sinhgarh twice, in the years 1920 and 1926, but in 1926 only for a day. It would, therefore, appear that this was written in 1920, when he stayed at Sinhgarh in the months of March, April and May. He reached the place on March 26.

⁴ The remark in Latin means "I am black but beautiful".

29. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

*Saturday [On or before May 15, 1920]*¹

PUJYA ANASUYABEHN,

Bhai Shankerlal came and left. I got your wire in time. My talk with him was quite satisfactory.

After reflecting on the subject of workers when I get time, I shall certainly write something.²

You have apparently not called on Mahadev. I do expect an assurance from you that, in my absence, you will visit the Ashram and look after its inmates. I am alive today. I may not be there tomorrow. But I draw solace in the thought that you will certainly be there after me [to carry on the work]. I do not say that you carry on this benevolent activity setting aside your own.

Miss Faering³ is a simple Irish woman. You can look after her to some extent.

Adopt Deepak⁴ and look after him. I won't recommend anyone else. Deepak has been brought up as you have been, so you will be able to understand him better. When I am not around I shall expect you to be more cautious.

Do not forget swadeshi. Do as much of it as you can. If you have faith in it, I would expect you to devote half an hour a day to it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32818

^{1&2} From the reference to the article "Mill-owners and Workers of Ahmedabad"; *vide* Vol.XVII, pp.420-3.

³ Esther Faering had left for Denmark on May 19, 1920.

⁴ Son of Saraladevi Chowdharani

30. *LETTER TO VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH*

[Before *October 18, 1920*]¹

DEAR SISTER,

I have always wanted Gujarat Vidyapith to be established. It goes without saying that the Government will have no say in its affairs.

Vandemataram from
M.K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Vidyabehn Nilkanth Jeevan Jhanki

31. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

*Friday [1920]*²

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. I had also received your earlier letter. How can you divert your anger with Saraladevi to me? Replying to your letters is going to be very difficult for me. You should, therefore, come here to get from me the answers to your questions. You may start writing letters when I forbid you to come here. And if you are afraid of Saraladevi, she is not here today and will not be coming here till Tuesday.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32741

¹ Inferred from the reference to the Gujarat Vidyapith which was founded on October 18, 1920

² From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol.I, pp.213 and 219.

32. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM,
*Tuesday [After January 4, 1921]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I have read the address to the students of Seoni. I think the report is fairly good. I am sending it separately. Now it is not longer necessary to print it because I had seen the report in newspapers. I do not know if it is accurate.

Do read about the land revenue when you find the time. You should never forget that you have to master the subject.

Charkhas must ply constantly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

33. LETTER TO GOPALDAS

NADIAD,
*[January 19, 1921]*²

BHAI GOPALDAS,

I have not read the [Congress] President's order. But I would be satisfied if an earthen lamp illuminated a village. Can Bombay or Nadiad have it? And have the village people understood the message of the Congress? An earthen lamp may be lighted outside every house for that purpose. Let it be done at my risk. But as it is, I am not likely to be interested in illuminations. I can think of illumination outside

¹ From the reference to Seoni, where Gandhiji visited the Marwari National School on January 4, 1921. This was obviously written after this date.

² From the contents it appears that the letter was written some time after the Congress passed its resolution on Non-cooperation on December 30, 1920. Gandhiji was in Nadiad on this day in January 1921; *vide* also Vol.XIX, p.210.

only when our hearts are enlightened. And is it not true that our hearts can be enlightened only when we have attained our objective? Right now one would like to use the sesame oil in food rather than for the earthen lamp.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

34. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

LAHORE,

Monday [March 7, 1921]¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Panditji² writes that *The Independent* is in a bad way and that if there is no help forthcoming it will have to be closed down. In my view, it is the only daily newspaper which fully supports non-co-operation. Its influence is considerable. It is desirable that it should not close down. Even those who have taken shares have not paid. Moreover, the case against Syed Hussain is going to cost money. Panditji writes that Umar has taken the entire responsibility for it. It would be good to come to a definite decision in the matter. If it has to be closed down, let it be so. I cannot decide about the matter because personally I am not so much enamoured of newspapers. I expect to be in Ahmedabad on Friday. But the situation here is such that one cannot be sure.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32737

¹ March 7 was the last Monday Gandhiji spent in Lahore before *The Independent* was closed down in December, 1921. Gandhiji reached Ahmedabad on March 11, a Friday.

² Pandit Motilal Nehru, General Secretary of the Congress

35. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Monday [April 15, 1921]¹

RESPECTED ANASUYABEHN,

You will now have been restored to health. I consider it a failing in men and women doing public work to fall ill. We are the tools in the hands of India and so even as tools we must ever be clean and sharp-edged. You must have resumed weaving. It will be sufficient if you understand about stretching. If you keep up the practice of walking, some day you will be able to walk for [the purpose of] stretching too. You are eager to learn it in a day; but how is that possible?

I will be going to Godhra on Monday. I am not able to decide whether I should pass through your place or go direct from here.

I could not meet anyone except Panditji and Rangaswami.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : G.N. 11576

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's meeting A. Rangaswamy Aiyengar who had been appointed on the Sub-Committee of the All India Congress Committee which, among other things, was to examine the Congress Constitution and consider necessary changes in it: *vide* also Vol.XVI, p.464 and Vol.XIX, pp. 1-2.

It is likely that this letter was written during the period 1920-1921. Gandhiji visited Godhra in 1921 on April 15.

36. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[September 1921]¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

Do you meet Mr. Kallenbach²? He may be writing to you. I remember Miss Schlesin³ every day. I believe you have not forgotten her. You should meet her even if you have to make a search for her. Her public service is such that it is never to be forgotten.

You see that I have written the letter with a fountain-pen. One day a letter written with Mahadev's pencil came to me. I had to labour to read it. Therefore, I started using a fountain-pen even using violence over my mind. I like very much to use the reed pen. But the reed pen will take up double my time; hence I have taken up the fountain-pen.

Harilal is doing his own cloth trade. He makes enough income in that. It seems to me that his greed is greater. It should be considered that his health is all right. He does not have his old strength. But he is able to look after his own work. Devdas is good. I should say that I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Motanan Man, p.21

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXI, pp.46-7.

² Hermann Kallenbach

³ Sonja Schlesin

37. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

Monday [November 28, 1921]¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have received your detailed letter. I shall definitely look forward to knowing such details at least for the time being.

We need two committees to serve our purpose:²

(1) To find and assess the damage done to private persons or private property during the recent disturbance and to collect funds necessary for the proposed relief.³

(2) To inquire into the part played by the police and the military during the recent disturbance with special reference to the charge that they took sides.

Our purpose will be served by having two such committees. There is no reference in this to the origin of the disturbance because it is not necessary and it will lead to more dissensions. Both the committees should meet *in camera* and only the required evidence to be published by the committee(s) should be made public.

There should also be co-opted members in both the committees. I have already given the names. Let Prof. Giddes give his speech. It would be good invite both the sides. If (the members of) these two committees go and the co-opted members join them and if the Parsees and the Christians do not lodge any complaint with the Government, then we can make considerable headway.

Do keep in contact with Chhotani Mian. We can certainly not engage lawyers for the people. Those who want to may do so. But as a committee we cannot be a party to it. Even as individuals for whom non-co-operation is a matter of duty, we cannot do it. Therefore, those who are arrested, would not be able to have from us legal help, etc.

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXI, p.497. Gandhiji left for Surat on December 1, a Thursday.

² What follows in this paragraph is in English.

³ On November 17, when the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay, there were demonstrations against his visit, including bonfires of foreign cloth, resulting in riots on a large scale.

I saw that steps had already been taken in the case of Anasuyabehn before I reached. Bhai Mohanlal has vacated the premises and elections are to be held soon.

Settle the matter about sending money to Gujarat for the swadeshi movement immediately.

Take proper care of your health. I think I shall leave for Surat on Thursday morning.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32700

38. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

SABARMATI,
*Tuesday [November 29, 1921]*¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

You will have received my reply sent yesterday. It is good that you met Sir Prabhashankar² and others. The important thing is that we should love our colleagues while adhering to our own programme. If our faith is in peace there is no other way.

It will be good if I too have a talk with Umar. This great task can be accomplished only when all his doubts are dispelled and he is absorbed in work.

I hope to reach Bardoli on Thursday evening. From there I expect to reach Bombay on Sunday. I shall stay there till Wednesday if I think it is necessary, but I do wish to leave earlier if I can. Will it be all right if I decide only when I am there whether I should take the chair on Wednesday?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32570

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXI, p.517.

² Prabhashankar Pattani

39. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

SABARMATI,
*Friday [Before December 8, 1921]*¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I enclose an application addressed to the trustees. We intend to incur a sizeable expenditure to help the untouchables here. Some money has already been spent. Hence this application. Some money has to be spent on the Vidyapith too. All the Gujarat money has been either spent or is blocked. It is not possible to withdraw the money tied up with swadeshi. So you must place this application before the trustees immediately. After they pass the application, we shall obtain the sanction of the Working Committee.

You will also have received Mathuradas's application for carrying on swadeshi work in Malabar. The work can be started if the application is disposed of early.

You must have provision of at least Rs. 10,00,000 for swadeshi work in Gujarat. Without that it will not be possible to organize Kathiawar to the extent desired.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32695

¹ From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol.I, pp. 246,247 and 250.

40. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

*Tuesday [December 13, 1921]*¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. Your volunteers should be of the very best. I would welcome Mr. Alam² being appointed captain. He is a competent person. But the most important thing is that we should have a man who can maintain peace. You should have a detailed talk with him. Speak to Dr. Mahmood too. He is a simple and straight-forward person. We should secure the maximum help from him in everything we do.

The matter about the Parsees is now in their own hands.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Malaviyaji³ wants to see me again. He will be reaching there on the 17th. Ask him to come here. You should be here by the 22nd.

¹ From the contents; *vide* also Vol.XXI, p.569.

² Dr. Mohamed Alam

³ Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); founder of the Benaras Hindu University, twice President of the Indian National Congress

41. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

Thursday [About December, 16, 1921]¹

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have received your two letters together.

Enclosed is the draft of a resolution² to be moved at the Congress. Please show it to Bhai Umar, Mrs. Naidu, Jayakar and others whom you think should see it and let me have your opinion and theirs. I am sending the draft to Vitthalbhai also. It is not meant to be published. I shall also send it to Chhotani Mian. All the copies may not be got ready today. Do stay on there if it is necessary. I feel that Bhai Umar should come for the Working Committee. But if he too cannot come and has to stay back in order to maintain peace, he may stay back. Mrs. Naidu, I think, will certainly come.

There is no intention of bringing out a bulletin. The rumours appear to be unfounded. For the rest, read what I have written about swaraj in *Young India*. However, do write if you think it necessary.

Picketing has been stopped. For the present we have no need to resume it. Even by way of expiation for the burning of Parsee wine shops it is necessary not to resume picketing.³ We certainly cannot have special volunteers to do picketing. We shall have to fight when the new corps is declared illegal. We shall have only one volunteer corps and picketing will not be its task for the present. Many of them will be there simply to court imprisonment. Others will be there to serve. You can divide them into two groups if you wish. But I think it would be advisable not to divide them into groups right now.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have received one letter. Read it and then destroy.

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32719

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXII, p.36.

² Which was moved later at the Congress Session at Ahmedabad on December 28, 1921; *ibid*; pp.99-104.

³ On November 17, 1921, in Bombay, a violent riot had broken out in which Parsee wine shops had been burnt down and Parsee women had been molested; *vide* Vol.XXI, pp.461-5.

42. LETTER TO HARI G. GOVIL

BARDOLI,
February 19, 1922

DEAR MR. GOVIL,

I have your letter, I am glad you recognize the truth of non-violence. We should deal patiently with those who do not understand it. It is a new experiment and we shall have to be extremely patient if we would make headway. Impatience also is a form of violence.

I have no message for the world till the message I am humbly trying to deliver to India is truly delivered and imbibed. If it is successfully delivered in India, I know that my physical presence will nowhere be necessary to emphasize it, but that it will permeate the whole world without the shadow of a doubt. But every worker abroad who endeavours to study the movement and interpret it correctly helps it.

We can gain absolutely nothing by exaggeration or distortion of facts. Just as non-violence required exemplary patience, it requires also exemplary truthfulness and a fine appreciation of one's own limitations.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

Gandhi and Non-Violent Resistance : The non-cooperation Movement in India, Gleanings from American Press, pp. 14-5

43. LETTER TO THE EDITOR, *THE SURVEY*, NEW YORK

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1922

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE SURVEY*,

I am aware that America is at the present moment following the Indian struggle with keen, growing and sympathetic interest, and I am delighted to find that you are doing not a little in educating American opinion about the struggle. In its very nature it has to depend upon a growing world opinion in its favour. When I see so much misrepresentation of things in general in the American and European press I despair of the message of the struggle ever reaching the Western world, but my abiding faith in the unseen keeps my hope forever green. Truth must penetrate the deepest darkness.

In your last paragraph you expect something from my pen. You will excuse me for the time being, but I would like to give you and your readers just this assurance that our non-co-operation is not intended to promote isolation or exclusiveness, but it is but a prelude to real co-operation with the rest of the world not excluding the West. Nor would I have your readers to think that in fighting the British Government I am fighting Western civilization, but I am endeavouring to fight modern civilization as distinguished from the ancient which India has not happily yet discarded. Modern civilization as represented by the West today, in my opinion, has given matter a place which by right belongs to the spirit. It has therefore put violence upon the throne of triumph and held under bondage truth and innocence. It is this error which enfeebled India is trying to fight, and I have no doubt whatsoever that if those who are engaged in the fight remain true to their pledge God will help them.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

Gandhi and Non-Violent Resistance : The Non-Cooperation Movement in India, Gleanings from the American Press, pp. 10-1

44. A LETTER¹

[December, 1922]²

You know that I respect you at heart. I do not brush aside your views. In your present letter I see that they have become clearer. I do understand the suggestion of postponing civil disobedience until after the Round Table Conference. But for that also there must be some justification.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/51

45. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

[March 31, 1924]³

I am quite sure that the tonsils should be operated upon. Bhajekar told Devdas that if they were left as they were there was danger of tuberculosis developing.

Bhajekar is a first-class surgeon. But I have much greater faith in Dalal. That is the difficulty. He is out marrying a relation. The best thing might be to let Bhajekar do the operation. If father selects him, I would like it done through Yeshwant Prasad who is a special friend of Bhajekar. It was Bhajekar who operated on Patel for piles. He has a splendidly appointed hospital. It would be best to take Indu to town with Yeshwant Prasad. The latter is being treated in Matunga.

It will take up to 10 o'clock to fetch him from Matunga.

Devdas says he is willing to shoulder the burden. In that case you and he may take her now. Bhajekar may not be available immediately. Indu can stay at his hospital or Rewashankerbhai's. If Bhajekar is not available for the day, certainly there by preference [*sic*]. I did not know exactly where he was and I think Devdas knows his place.

¹ Presumably to Madan Mohan Malaviya

² From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXII, pp. 35, 54, 99, 263 and 449.

³ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 324 and 355; and Vol. XXIV, pp. 136-154.

Then Bhagwandas the typist does know. Has she got fever now? Is she moving about? No, I do not mean that. Is she active, up and doing? Then we wait. I would send for Yeshwant Prasad; he will take her to Bhajekar.

That was in answer to Jawaharlal. If Bhajekar is out of Bombay, you should take her to Deshmukh and let him decide. If there be in his opinion no danger in waiting, you may wait. I am not certain of my ground quite with Deshmukh. And you may have noticed in Poona that there are specialists for every variety of operations. However, take her there, if Bhajekar is out. There is no immediate danger, I feel sure.

Is mother going to Rameshwari today?

Why not tell the Working Committee give all the papers to the under-secretary. There should be not a moment's delay in this matter. The sooner the better not because the disease requires immediate treatment but that you may be sooner free.

It is such an incredibly simple operation that if you have it today, you are ready to talk about business affairs tomorrow. You will have to lie in bed till the wound is healed. Beyond a little inconvenience there is nothing in it.

I was trying to set Lalaji right yesterday. Whom should I see? I am anxious to see them all. I am taking Lalaji tomorrow to Hakimji. But you may do the seeing today and tell them that though I hold strong views, I [am] trying to remain absolutely impartial. As a matter of fact I detest communal representation. But I do not know how to escape or avoid it. The Hindus occupy a strong position. It is therefore for the Hindus to surrender. If they do, we can avoid the thing. But I see that they not only do not want to surrender but do not even want to do justice. I am thinking out a third course. But I have not yet let up on anything.

From the original: Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

46. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Sunday [Before April 3, 1924]¹

RESPECTED ANASUYABEHN,

I had intended to write even before your letter arrived. I made several attempts even after I got it but could not find the time for it until this morning.

The moment Mahadev gave me the news of sister-in-law's² health I wrote to her. I understood from what he told me that you will have to go to Simla.

You may certainly stay on there and make arrangements for the mill-workers. I should certainly like it if you were here with me, but you may come only after you have finished your work. I should like you not to worry about me one bit. I know what your reply will be. Are you looking after your own health?

Bhai Shankerlal does not say a word about his health in his letter. Does he look after himself? When will you be going to Bihar? Before going there I expect you will surely see me.

I want to use the proceeds of the increased subscription from *Navajivan* in the cause of public activities. Can both of you give me some suggestions? If you have any, wire the suggestions to me at Andheri. I intend to make an announcement in the next issue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32783

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXIII, pp.342 and 351-2.

² Saraladevi, wife of Ambalal Sarabhai

47. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

JUHU, SANTA-CRUZ,
BOMBAY,

*Friday [On or before May 23, 1924]*¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Before I received it I had already sent a bottle of grape juice for you and another for Kashi through Radharaman. It need not be taken just once a day. It can be taken twice or thrice a day. If you want to take it with cold water you may do so. Bhai Mahadev writes that you do not have sound sleep at night. My advice to you is to go to sleep reciting Ramanama. Remove other thoughts if they come. This was taught to me by my nurse when I was young. Now I can see its value. We must have the faith that in reciting that sacred name lies our good. Do not be despondent if other thoughts distract you while reciting Ramanama. Remove the thoughts from the mind, but if you cannot do so, do not be disheartened. You will feel strong by pronouncing the name. The efficacy of Ramanama is described in Ramayana. Understand it from Mahadevbhai if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

There is no need to send the children. Ba says that she had inquired from you because Rasik has been writing again to say that he wants to come. I am trying to persuade Ba to go there.

[From Gujarati]
Motanan Man, p. 27

¹ The contents indicate this period, when Gandhiji was convalescing at Juhu. May 23 was the last Friday he spent at Juhu. Further, Gandhiji expresses his disinclination to have Kanti, Rasik and Manu brought to Bombay (*vide* Vol.XXIV, p. 37), even as he does in the postscript to this letter.

48. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Thursday [June 12, 1924]¹

RESPECTED ANASUYABEHN,

Received both your letters. I tore up your second letter soon after reading it. Do not hesitate to write anything you want to. No one reads personal letters written by you. They are passed on to me intact as they come. If I put them in a file either by mistake or intentionally, they may be read by others as access to files is not restricted. But I shall tear up the letters marked "personal" after reading them and as for my letters to you, I shall write them myself. I do not like it at all that Bhai Shankerlal has some new ailment now. He appears to be brooding over something. I can't even ask him to come and stay with me because my entire life is led in the open. There is no such thing as privacy for me. What else can I do when persons who are more ill than I am, expect my help? Even as I try to help them, I become unhappy. So in spite of having an intense desire to help delicate flowers that you and Shankerlal are, I have become unfit for the task. What can I do? I do keep thinking about you both and I do wish Bhai Shankerlal gets well soon. I believe that on such occasions the spinning-wheel and Ramanama are effective medicines. I believe, therefore, it augurs well that Shankerlal can concentrate on the spinning-wheel.

I have not had any letter from sister-in-law. Write and tell her that I am happy to learn that she is all right.

The issue of *Majoor Sandesh* is good. Send me all the issues from the beginning and keep sending them henceforth.

Ba was here and left yesterday after two days' stay. I am doing well. These days I begin writing regularly from almost 4.30 in the morning. I cannot cope with the work otherwise. I keep worrying if I cannot finish it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32776

¹ From the references to *Majoor Sandesh*, a periodical published by the *Majoor Mahajan*, Ahmedabad, and to Kasturba's stay with Gandhiji; June 12 in 1924 was a Thursday; *vide* Vol.XXIV, pp.213 and 223.

49. LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY

July 26, 1924

DEAR MR. REDDY,

I thank you for your letter. I do want to help the Swarajists. 'How' is the only question. I cannot possibly wish more.

They are just as good patriots as I claim to be myself. My swaraj is the same as before. I have never excluded it from my conception. I do mean political swaraj. You will see it clearly as soon as my scheme is ready.¹

Only I want [it] through the power of the people.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

C.R. REDDY, ESQ.
CHITTOOR

From a copy : C.W. 11332. Courtesy : Dr. N. Rama Murthy and C.A. Reddi

50. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

SABARMATI,
Monday [October 1924]²

BHAISHREE SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I shall be glad to see Miss Moore when she comes. I shall be here on November 30. You are not thinking of October 30, are you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4695. Courtesy : Shantikumar Morarjee

¹ *Vide* Vol.XXV, pp.54-5 and 122-5.

² As indicated in the source

51. LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY

May 12, 1925

DEAR MR. REDDY,

I have your letter. I am writing this on the train carrying me to Chittagong. I realize fully that the problem in the South is an exceptional problem though it is the same disease at bottom. In my opinion the construction programme too must fail not because the Scheme is bad but because we are not ready. Internal quarrels and jealousies leave us no time for anything else. The masses are untouched by them. Whether in the South or here in Bengal I find no difficulty in getting thousands [to] listen to the Congress message of the wheel. I can find no substitute for it, nor can I find at the present moment any addition to it. Untouchability is there. But I cannot find through it work for thousands. I have therefore practically staked my all on the wheel. Look at the untouchable problem in the South or the non-Brahmin question, who wants swaraj? Are we to divide ourselves into watertight compartments and show this is swaraj?

I am therefore more interested in the news you give me about your sister spinning. She is undoubtedly bringing swaraj nearer. Tell her, if I had any money and if I was a gambler I would put my all on her and what is more expect to win.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From a copy : C.W. 11333. Courtesy : Dr. N. Rama Murthy and C.A. Reddi

52. LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY

148 RUSSA ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
July 28, 1925

DEAR FRIEND,

Thank you for your letter. As my right hand refuses to work and insists upon rest I have taken to dictation.

You will see my views about my own special fitness in my article on Lord Birkenhead's speech¹. If I felt that power within, I would seek the leadership which you would have me take up, but I have not that power today.

My congratulations to your nieces and yourself on their effect and your good fortune in securing the fruit of their effort. I really believe that they are bringing swaraj nearer by their adding to the wealth of the country, and by their setting an example in national labour to others. I do not know when I shall be able to visit Andhra Desh. When I do I shall certainly try to bring Sahib.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

SJT. C.R. REDDY, ESQ.
CHITTOOR (N.A.)

From a copy : C.W. 11334. Courtesy : Dr. N. Rama Murthy and C.A. Reddi

¹ *Vide* Vol. XXVII, pp. 389-91.

53. *LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY*

148 RUSSA ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1925

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I did receive your telegram as also Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's, and I straightaway sent a reply to Madras as follows: "Your wire. Hope voters will vote for Congress Swarajists, who habitually spin and wear khaddar, who believe in Hindu-Moslem unity, advocate total prohibition, and who, if Hindus, regard untouchability an evil to be removed forthwith."

More Congress labour would mean nothing to me, unless the candidate adopting the Congress flag endorses what that flag stands for. Mr. Suhrawardy himself withdrew. Mr. Sen Gupta was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's choice. Mine was Mr. Suhrawardy.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

C.R. REDDY, ESQ.
CHITTOOR(N.A.)

From a copy : C.W. 11335. Courtesy : Dr. N. Rama Murthy and C. A. Reddi

54. *LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA*

Monday [On or before August 31, 1925]¹

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I am so short of time these days that I cannot write what I wish to write. I am replying to two of your questions here. I have not

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXVIII, pp.85 and 152.

understood what you have asked about *Ramayana*. If it is a matter of merely bringing out a cheap edition, what is there for me to advice? There is one aspect, none the less. Is it possible to bring out an edition cheaper than what is available in the market? If the idea is to abstract it and to publish the most valuable essence, I welcome it. I had started such work. I got the *Balakanda* published; but could not make further progress.

I hope to reach the Ashram on September 5, for a four-day stay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

55. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

[After *September 23, 1925*]¹

I do not know that. And how should you know? You all have difficult work before you. My way alone is the true way. I must live in the town and visit Sevagram every day at a specified time. Please consider this. Have patience. What you write has a deep meaning. But you must think about the remedy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : G. N. 8375

¹ The letter is written at the back of another, the writer of which mentions, among other things, that he had been promoted as Station-master on September 23, 1925.

56. *LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI*

WARDHA,
Paush Sud 1 [On or after *December 16, 1925*]¹

BHAISHREE VALJI,

I will talk to the editor² of *Maharashtra-Dharma*. You will get shoes made from the hides of dead animals only in Utkal tannery in Cuttack. I do not know of another place.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 11278. *Courtesy : Valji G. Desai*

57. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

[About *December 1925*]³

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am writing this much today just for the sake of writing. Look after your health. Give consolation to Ramdas. You two, brother and sister, should sing aloud bhajans. Recite Ramanama.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 9299

¹ The letter evidently was written after Gandhiji had visited the Utkal tannery at Cuttack on August 19, 1925. In 1925 *Paush Sud 1* corresponded to the 16th of December when Gandhiji was at Wardha.

² Vinoba Bhave

³ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXIX, p. 301 and 323.

58. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[About 1925/1926]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter. It is natural that you should feel hurt. Do not worry. Try to convince Ramdas as best as you can. You remain there with a firm mind and take your treatment. Also carry on your studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 9350

59. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

[Before January 14, 1926] ²

BHAISHRI VALJI³,

I heard you uttering discouraging words yesterday : "I have not completed any job so far." I did not expect to hear those words from you. I had imagined you to be a brave man. You have got to keep your word to the readers. There should be no difficulty at all about writing the review. You should not think of doing things just at the last moment. If you get any benefit from me, you must be prepared to bring out *Young India* in a creditable way. The best thing would be to set everything on Monday and Tuesday only. Doing it from Sunday

¹ From the contents; vide Vol. XXIX, pp. 322-3 and 398.

² From the reference to "Maganlal's article on the charkha", presumably the one on charkha by Maganlal Gandhi which appeared in *Young India*, 14.1.1926. For other references pertaining to *Young India*, vide Vol. XXX, pp. 173, 218 and 294.

³ Valji G. Desai; inmate of Satyagraha Ashram; worked on the editorial staff of *Young India*.

causes much inconvenience to the editor, and some matter may become useless. The matter for two or three columns should be set in advance and if you do not get anything from me by Sunday, you should start your work from Monday morning. If you follow this procedure, there would be no difficulty at all. Think over all this and do what you think correct. Write polite letters to those to whom you discontinue sending *Young India*.

Write something to this effect: As we do not [carry] advertisements and just charge enough to cover our expenses, we are obliged to curtail our exchange list.¹

Maganlal's article on the charkha would be coming. Give a beautiful translation of it. Lakshmidas² has given the figures for the charkha. You can publish those figures also. You can also give the experience about proportional representation.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 11175. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

60. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

*Friday [April 30, 1926]*³

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have curtailed even the little writing I used to do with my own hand and, as far as possible, I dictate. So this, too, I am dictating. I see from Jaisukhlal's⁴ letter that both you and Kusum were laid down with illness. I suggest that both of you now come here. I have written to Jaisukhlal too, suggesting this. I am well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 599. Courtesy : Vasumati Pandit

¹ This sentence is in English.

² Lakshmidas Asar

³ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XXX, p. 427.

⁴ Jaisukhlal Gandhi

61. LETTER TO KATHERINE MAYO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND¹,

I have your letter of the 28th ultimo enclosing a letter from the Bishop of Calcutta.

17th March will be a suitable day for me to receive you at 4 p.m. at the above address. The Ashram is about four miles from Ahmedabad. Most of the *gadiwallas* at the Station know the place.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS KATHERINE MAYO
C/o THOMAS COOK & SONS
BOMBAY

From a copy : Katherine Mayo Papers. Courtesy : Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

62. LETTER TO MRS. STANLEY JONES

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND²,

I have your letter. I shall try to write out the pamphlet you want.³ But you will forgive me if I take time over it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C. W. 11341. Courtesy : Mrs. Eunice Jones Mathew

¹ Author of *Mother India*

² Wife of Rev. E. Stanley Jones, American missionary, author of *The Christ of the Indian Road*, etc.

³ *Vide* also Vol. XXXIII, p. 356.

63. LETTER TO AMY JACQUES GARVEY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had the 2nd volume of "*The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*"¹ or "*Africa for Africans*" for which I thank you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

AMY JACQUES GARVEY
P. O. BOX NO: 22, STATION E
NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

From a copy : Gandhi Museum (Vol. 136) : Courtesy : Gandhi Memorial Museum, New York

64. LETTER TO PATRICK DUNCAN

SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

DEAR MR. DUNCAN²,

I tender my welcome to you and your colleagues. I hope to attend the at-home of Sunday. If you wish to see me before the at-home, please telephone at Laburnum Road. I do not know the telephone number of my host. Mrs. Naidoo will give it to you. I expect to reach Bombay Sunday morning and leave it Sunday night.³

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Duncan Papers. Courtesy : University Library, Cape town

¹ Marcus Garvey was the Chairman of the Fourth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World.

² Leader of the South African Deputation that arrived in India on September 19, 1926; *vide* Vol. XXXI, pp. 181-2 and 406.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 426

65. *LETTER TO MOTIBEHN M. ASAR*

*Sunday [July-October, 1926]*¹

CHI. MOTIBEHN,

I was very glad to receive your letter. Start the study of Gujarati. The handwriting is good of course.

You must get rid of slow fever. It is necessary to have hi-bath for that purpose. It will be good if you remain on milk and fruits for a while. Raw vegetables can be regarded as fruits. You must chew them well or make them into pulp. You have got to cure constipation. Take enema if you do not pass stool. In the morning as soon as you get up, you should drink hot water as soon as you have cleaned your teeth. Many people have benefited from it. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G. N. 3762

66. *LETTER TO INDRAJI*

KHADI PRATISTHAN,
15 COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA,
[After *November 2, 1926*]²

MY DEAR INDRAJI,

Maqbul Hussain has been complaining from Bharatpur that a lot of persecution against the Mussalmans has been going on in that

¹ From the contents it is presumed that the letter was written during the latter half of the year 1926 when the addressee was not keeping good health; *vide* Vol. XXXI, pp. 109, 154 and 527; *vide* also Vol. XXX for Gandhiji's frequent comments on the addressee's handwriting.

² From the contents. Swami Shraddhanand, addressee's father, was shot dead on December 23, 1926. The postscript would suggest that the letter was written on behalf of Gandhiji after his visit to Bombay on November 2; *vide* Vol. XXXII, p. 473.

state and that many Mussalmans have been forced to leave it. Gandhiji wrote to the Minister but he has had no reply. You know the Minister, says Bapu. Would you kindly ask him as to what he has to say?

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

[PS.]

How is Swamiji now? At Bombay we heard he was very ill.

From a photostat : G.N. 7208; also C. W. 4868

67. LETTER TO RAMI PAREKH

Thursday [November 18, 1926]¹

CHI. RAMI,

I have your letter after a long time. Everybody is happy here. There is no special illness nowadays. Chi. Ramdas² was here for a couple of days. He is in good health. He is touring in Kathiawar and selling khadi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9702

¹ *Vide* Vol. XXXII, p. 64.

² Son of Gandhiji

68. *LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES*

SABARMATI,
November 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I shall be pleased to meet Bishop Welsh when he comes.

Pray tell Mrs. Jones I have not forgotten her commission.¹ But I have not yet been able to steal a single minute for the work.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C. W. 11342. Courtesy : Mrs. Eunice Jones Mathews

69. *LETTER TO PUNJABHAI H. SHAH*

ON WAY TO CALCUTTA,
Wednesday [December 29, 1926]²

BHAI PUNJABHAI,

I received your letter just when I was getting anxious about you. I cannot think of making any changes right now. You know what you should do. Do not strain yourself too much. Eat only what suits you. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G. N. 4011

¹ *Vide* p. 53.

² From the contents. Gandhiji was on his way to Calcutta on this day, a Wednesday.

70. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ON THE TRAIN,
Monday night [Before January 10, 1927]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. Manilal informs me that you are not keeping as well as you should. Why is it so? If the weather there does not suit you, go to Wardha and stay there. You may go to Bihar also.

It would be better if you got the question of the emerald solved through Jamnabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9312

71. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

KASHI,
Silence Day [January 10, 1927]²

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter. I can understand that you are not at ease without Ba. But we have to learn to be at ease even where we are not at home. What are likes and dislikes to one who wants to serve? Keep up the improvement in your health. For your stay you may occupy one of Ba's rooms. Or you may take possession of Mirabehn's room. If you want to cook your food separately you can do it in that room.

¹ From the contents it appears that the letter was written after December 11, 1926 when Manilal reached India and before Gandhiji's letter to the addressee dated January 10, 1927; *vide* the following item.

² Gandhiji was in Kashi on January 10, 1927, a silence-day. The date is further evidenced by the reference to the apportioning of a room for the addressee; *vide* Vol. XXX, p. 427.

Let me know the final decision about the emerald.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9352

72. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Monday [After February 2, 1927]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter. I am glad that your health is good. I am trying to improve the water [here]. There is no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 9370

73. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Friday [After February 2, 1927]²

CHI. VASUMATI,

I find no time at all to write letters. Live whatever manner it suits you. But improve your health. I do not insist that you should necessarily get work out of Vikram. But I had written in order to give training to Vikram.

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's attempts at improving water at the Ashram; *vide* the following item.

² From the reference to Vikram; *vide* p... and Vol. XXXIII, p. 39.

It is good that Shankarbhai, Shanta, etc., have come. Is Shankarbhai enjoying himself? I am trying to get better water at the Ashram. Now let us see what happens. I have understood about the emerald.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 9367

74. *LETTER TO TARA R. MODI*

ON RETURN FROM VEDCHHI,
*Thursday [March 17, 1927]*¹

CHI. TARA,

It was very good that you came to the Ashram. The training the women get at the Ashram at present is not to be had anywhere in the world. Do whatever work you can while taking care of your health. Look after the children well, as if they were your own children. Keep Vimu with you if she agrees. I do not know where you have decided to stay. If you are going to stay in the hostel Vimu will have to live away from you. Take particular care of her even if she lives away. It would be great if she could by some means come into your grip.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G. N. 4186

¹ Inferred from the fact that Gandhiji returned to Bardoli from Vedchhi on March 17, 1927 which was a Thursday.

75. *LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES*

NIPANI,
March 30, 1927

DEAR FRIEND,

My answer to your letter is 'yes'. It means the discovery of God's laws.

God has laid me low for the moment.¹ But He is infinitely merciful.

My apologies to Mrs. Jones. I have not forgotten her letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : C. W. 11343. Courtesy : Mrs. Eunice Jones Mathews

76. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

Silence Day [After April 19, 1927]²

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. It is all right that you did not come. I hope you are looking after your health. Right now it is like one guilty person blaming another. However if you feel inclined you may come for the sake of having the combined benefit of the climate and work so that all of us can be warned by my mistake. But do what you think appropriate.

I would be very happy if Jamnalalji. . . .³

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32750

¹ Gandhiji took ill on March 24 and was advised rest by doctors in a hill station.

² From the contents it is evident that the letter was written after Gandhiji reached Nandi Hills on April 19, 1927; *vide* also Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 424 and 429.

³ Two sentences that follow are not legible in the source.

77. LETTER TO MANU H. GANDHI

*Ashad Sud 5 [July 4, 1927]*¹

CHI. MANU,

I have your letter. Keep on writing in that manner. We all think of you but Bamisseseg you very much. She often says, 'When shall I see Manu?' But that is in the hands of God. We shall meet when He ordains. Do you learn *bhajans*, etc., there? Hari-ichchhabehn², Tarabehn and others are there. Do you ever meet them?

There is a Khadi Exhibition here today. Manibehn³ cards cotton there. Kanti Parekh has also come. He also cards cotton. Keshubhai spins cotton. There are so many others. It has a good collection of khadi. If you were here, I would have shown you everything. But can we poor travel such a distance [only for this purpose]?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 5053. Courtesy : Manu S. Mashruwala

78. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

*Silence day [After August 20, 1927]*⁴

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter. It is good that you have started teaching. I did not mean that you should teach Gujarati only to the extent that you know it. I want much greater knowledge of perfect Gujarati. I expect a deeper study of grammar. But let that be. Teaching too is

¹ The letter evidently belongs to 1927. Gandhiji was in Bangalore where the Khadi Exhibition was held; *vide* also Vol. XXXIV, pp. 101-106 and 108-109.

² Hari-ichchha Kamdar

³ Manibehn Patel, daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel

⁴ From the reference to the addressee's Gujarati studies; *vide* Vol. XXXIV, p. 376.

service for you. And everything done in a spirit of service yields fruit. Keep up your health. How have you arranged about your food?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9365

79. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Wednesday [After August 24, 1927]¹

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

On reaching here, I received your letter. And I am now relieved of my worry. You should never hesitate to write. I can set right what is going wrong only when you write and tell me. There was only one interpretation possible of your letter. Even if by the Relief Committee you had meant the Bombay Committee, there is no comparison between the carelessness of the Bombay Committee and that of the Baroda Committee. It appears that the Relief Committee² is doing its work quite satisfactorily. It may have been lethargic about our work and possibly did not investigate the state of affairs thoroughly enough. But we should not lose our patience. For that reason, when no institution pays any heed [to the condition of workers] we may criticize the injustice it perpetrates. If the whole thing is over and done with, it is well and good. Even so, stick to my advice. Sooner or later we have to make workers independent and self-reliant. It is our duty to make them skilled in their work — we do not want them to remain helpless or make beggars of them. It is a difficult task. One does not get immediate credit for such work. We might even be shunned. All such risks are inherent [in such work] but we have to bear with them. It is our duty to act according to what we think we

¹ *Vide* Suppl. Vol. I, p. 436.

² The Gujarat Flood Relief Committee

ought to do.

I am well. Do not pay any attention to what appears in the papers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 32810

80. *LETTER TO KATHERINE MAYO*

AS AT SABARMATI,
ON TOUR,
September 13, 1927

DEAR FRIEND,

It was through Mr. Karl Placht that I received some time ago a copy of your book, *Mother India*, which he sent me with your permission. I really get little time to read any literature but as your book attracted much attention here and gave rise to very bitter and angry comment, and as many correspondents drew my attention to the fact that you had made copious reference to my writings and urged me to give my opinion upon your book I made time to read it through. I am sorry to have to inform you that the book did not leave on my mind at all a nice impression. I have asked the Publishers of *Young India* to send you a copy of my review¹ of your book. If you think that I have done any injustice to you and care to draw my attention to it I shall feel thankful to you. As I have not your address by me on my tour I am taking the liberty of sending this to you through Mr. Karl Placht.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

MISS KATHERINE MAYO

From a copy: Katherine Mayo Papers. Courtesy : Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

¹ *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 539-47.

81. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

[After September 19, 1927]¹

DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have been able to read carefully your article about self-reliance in clothes only today. In my view it is not worth publishing. The readers are so raw that they do not make any comparison and are misled about a good thing by accepting what they like and discarding what they do not like. I think the article is not worth publishing because what you have shown as a disadvantage for the sales section is not a disadvantage. Rather, it is necessary and is a difficulty that helps the soul. If we want to do away with the sales section or make it less burdensome, we must lay great emphasis on self-reliance, expand it and find out its science. I have no doubt about it. Hence, give as much thought to this matter as possible and convey in public whatever experiences you have. But the sales section will have to be expanded to the same extent. Sales would always be needed for the cities. It would also be necessary for the other trade communities in the villages. It is not possible at all to improve the quality of yarn or have more varieties of khadi by the method of self-reliance. Both these things can and are being done as a business practice and would be so done in future as well. Moreover, honest, clever and industrious workers would also be produced only when these things are followed as a business. Ultimately, even the atmosphere of khadi would be preserved only by following this method. We cannot feel satisfied merely by that.

If you have not followed the meaning of what I have said write to me or ask me when we meet. I hope to be at the Ashram by the 1st of January.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ From the contents; *vide* post-script to letter to the addressee dated September 19, 1927, Vol. XXXV, p.6.

82. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

*Diwali [October 25, 1927]*¹

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I have received your presents. I started them from the very day I received them. I have lost one handkerchief out of them. We are a big crowd here. It is surprising that some of the small things at least are saved.

I understand about Ceylon : I think your decision is right. You must understand that the days of sitting around with me are over. It seems criminal to have even a moment of external peace. Hence I must learn to find peace in turbulence. And what is true for me will also be true for my colleagues, is it not so?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 11568

83. *A NOTE*

*[1927]*²

Pandit Satavalekar³ is a famous name. He is a great scholar of Sanskrit. Although he is a Maharashtrian, he publishes a Hindi periodical⁴ from Maharashtra and serves the cause of Hindi. He rejoices in the study of the Vedas and in discovering their hidden meaning. He cherishes ahimsa. He has sent to me the following thought-provoking letter⁵ in view of the current controversy:

From a photostat of the Hindi original : G.N. 1081

¹ From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol. I, p. 443.

² From the contents it appears that this was written around mid-1927 when there began a controversy surrounding the subject of cow-slaughter.

³ S. D. Satavalekar

⁴ *Vaidika Dharma*

⁵ Not available

84. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

Saturday [1927]¹

CHI. GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

Your letters come regularly and are a great help to me.

I knew that you would not misunderstand what I said to you about the diet.

You must win over Sarojini Devi with love. I have come to feel that she is a good-hearted lady.

Tell Pannalal that he should not spend money right now on building a new house, but should stay on Ashram land. He may pay rent or do whatever he thinks is right. A wealthy man should use the wealth in his possession as a trustee.

Your studies have now got into stride. All of you must give of your utmost capacity and gain as much as possible. One can progress a lot by doing this.

I am not defeated in our experiment with the children as I seemed to be with our women's wing. For the present I can say that you have saved me from defeat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 3128

85. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

Silence Day [1927]²

CHI. GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

You stayed out for a sufficiently long time. You must have

^{1&2} From *Manavtana-Prahari-Pannalal Jhaveri*

come back with greater peace of mind. I assume that you will have certainly improved your health. Make the Bal Mandir a beautiful place. Take care of Radha. She is without doubt an arduous worker.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 3121

86. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

[1927]¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I am glad to have your letter

Why do you have that swelling in the leg? You must make your body strong as steel.

If you are willing, I want to take a lot of work from you. For that, you must be completely absorbed in your work. If you absorb yourself in your work, you can conquer your attachment and passion. In this age there is no greater religion than service. In my view it is the greatest religion in all ages.

If you wish to equip yourself for the religion of service, master all the aspects of processing cotton. You must know to recognize the quality of cotton. You must know how to repair the spinning-wheel. You must know how to prepare the *mal* for the spinning-wheel. You must know ginning and carding. You must know how to determine the count, the strength, etc., of the spun yarn. Then only can it be said that you have become an expert.

Along with these, your study of Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit should continue. I need countless such girls. A widow who can be put on the path of self-development is in my view a maiden.

Feel free to write to me, like a daughter writing to her mother. Nanibehn should get well.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3134

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXXII, p.577 and Vol. XXXIV, p. 525.

87. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

[1927]¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got both your letters. I have accumulated a pile of letters. I have been hoping every day to leave for the Ashram; meanwhile, I got your second letter.

You have done well in going back to the store. Put only as much burden on your body and mind as they can bear.

Give up your eagerness to learn many languages or pursue other studies. It is more necessary to improve one's mastery over what one has already learnt. You should learn Sanskrit even if you have to work by yourself. Your Gujarati is good enough, but why can't you learn it as well as the most learned teachers? If a rope can make dents on a granite rock, why can't we train ourselves by constant practice? If you have not gone far in your study of Marathi and if you have no special reason for learning it, give it up, but only if the time you save on it can be given to Gujarati and Sanskrit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3125

88. LETTER TO BEHCHAR BHAWAN PARMAR

Wednesday [July/August, 1928]²

BHAI BEHCHAR BHAWAN,

I have your letter. It seems to me that you should be able to earn an honest livelihood from your traditional occupation itself. In my

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXXIV, p.525.

² From the contents; *vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 14, 141 and 177.

view, there is nothing shameful about following the useful occupation of a barber. There is nothing lowly about it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5569

89. *LETTER TO VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH*

Sunday, August 12, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

What you write about Vallabhbhai is indeed true. He has done credit to the whole country.

To make a speech on the occasion of the Brahmasamaj centenary celebrations will be a burden as I am very busy in my own activities; yet I dare not say 'no' to you. But if you still insist on a speech from me, I should make it clear that I have no time to write it. And then where will be the time for a speech on the 20th, i.e., Monday?¹ I shall reach Sabarmati only tomorrow morning. You will receive this only on my reaching there. You may send it on if you like it. I shall come over in case you wish me to. I have shown your letter to Vallabhbhai.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Vidyabehn Nilkanth Jeevan Jhanki

¹ Gandhiji, however, accepted the invitation to speak at the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj on the occasion of the Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations; *vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 191-3.

90. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

*Margasher Sud 6 [December 18, 1928]*¹

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

Your article on Fiji will be published. I would not want an article published on the subject of separate managements for the establishments. The publication of such an article would be harmful to our cause.

Kunwar Maharaj Singh is to leave on December 21.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2577

91. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

*Silence Day [1928]*²

CHI. GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

The letter addressed to the women is enclosed. Where are you yourself? Are you occupying with credit the position of the women's organization? Have you found the key to life? Have you acquired control over your mind? I have come to the conclusion that your mental agitation has been the cause of your illness. Know it for certain that God is not to be found in temples or in pilgrimages. God resides in your very heart. He is to be found in your duty. Your energy will be well spent if you go deep and purify your thinking. You do have energy.

I notice diplomacy in your letters. Why diplomacy with me? A daughter can utter any crazy thing before her father or mother. She

¹ From the reference to Kunwar Maharaj Singh's departure, presumably for South Africa, it is inferred that the letter was written on this date, which corresponds to *Margasher Sud 6*; *vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 292 and 347, and Vol. XXXVIII, p. 38.

² From the reference to the matter about Sharada; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 180 and 242.

does not choose her words to express herself. You have deliberated on your words and sentences. Beware. Do not add to my disappointments. The matter about Sharada is still hurting me like a knife. The wound has not healed.

I have myself closed this letter.

If you write 'Personal' on the letter, it will come straight to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3131

92. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

[1928]¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Improve your health. If there is anything more to be written about Sharada, do write. Discuss things with her.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro - 6 : *Gangabehnne*, p. 17; also G.N. 11264

¹ Period inferred; *vide* also the preceding item.

93. THE ASIATIC PASSIVE RESISTANCE
STRUGGLE – THE FINAL STAGES¹

[Before 1929]

He who played an important part in the Indian Passive Resistance Movement did not live to see the final stages. He has described the struggle in his own graphic style in his monograph² on me, Gandhi.

This chapter is intended to take a brief survey of the Movement from where Mr. Doke left it. No Englishman had such a keen grasp of the subject as he, by patient study, had acquired. Busy though he was with the work of his own flock, if a man of his breadth of vision and his all-round humanity could be said to have had a special flock, he made this Indian Question as much his own as the work of the Pastorate. He collected and tabulated every scrap of paper upon the subject. He wrote much upon it. He saw the authorities and spoke to them with the certainty of the knowledge of an expert. He took charge of the editorial work of the Passive Resistance organ, *Indian Opinion*, during Mr. Gandhi's and Mr. Polak's absence from South Africa.³ The leading articles he wrote for the journal during the period are literally monuments. His anxiety to keep up the traditions of the journal was so great that, in matters of policy, he took the advice of, and allowed himself to be guided by, those whom he was not bound to consult. He came in contact with the best and the worst of Indians. All his study was not merely to bring to a close a movement, however great it may have been. He had dreams about the future of South Africa, the part that Indians were to play in it, the part that Christianity had to play in the great drama that was being enacted before him. His Indian work was taken up in answer to the question of his soul : "What am I to do in South Africa in the midst of many races?"

¹ Gandhi wrote this for William E. Cursons who was preparing a biography of the Reverend Doke at the request of his family. It was published as Chapter XV of the biography. *Joseph Doke : The Missionary-hearted*. The date when Gandhiji wrote this is not available; there was a delay of several years before the publication of the biography in 1929 by the Christian Literature Depot, Johannesburg.

² *M.K. Gandhi : An Indian Patriot in South Africa*; vide Vol. IX, p. 100, Vol. XVII, p. 387 and Vol. XXXIII, p. 345.

³ The Reverend J.J. Doke was editor for a brief period in 1913.

Mr. Doke had intended, if he had lived, to take part in the constructive programme of the Indian community after the struggle was finished. He had intended, too, to write a volume on the lessons of the struggle. But that was not to be.

The readers of these pages will, however, be glad to know the final results of the historical struggle which attracted world-wide attention. Only a bird's-eye view is possible in a single chapter of a book, when a full description would require several volumes. During the last stages it took a most unexpected and brilliant turn. Every act of repression by the authorities only heartened the resisters. The refusal of the Government to recognize the legal status of Indian miners and to abolish the poll-tax on indentured Indians, which it was claimed on their behalf the Government had promised the late Mr. Gokhale to do, brought thousands to the Passive Resistance fold. Indentured Indians, working in the Natal mines and in the sugar fields, struck work and sought imprisonment. This strike must be distinguished from ordinary strikes. It was undertaken, not to usurp the functions of the Government or to paralyse the industries concerned. It was declared simply as a protest against the £ 3 tax. It was an assertion on the part of the strikers, men and women, of their self-respect. They were no longer content to pay a tax, which not only told heavily upon their slender purses, but which was a mark of their degradation and a cause of terror to the womenfolk. At one time nearly 30,000 men were on strike. The Government and the planters tried every means to bend the strikers, but without avail. They had but one purpose in life : these strikers refused to be left alone. They wanted to fill the prisons. After due notice to the Government, nearly 2,000 of them, men, women and children, marched into the Transvaal. They had no legal right to cross the border, their destination was Tolstoy Farm, established by Mr. Kallenbach for Passive Resisters, the distance to be covered was 150 miles. No army ever marched with so little burden. No waggons or mules accompanied the party. Each one carried his own blankets and daily rations, consisting of one pound of bread and one ounce of sugar. This meagre ration was supplemented by what Indian merchants gave them on their way. The Government imprisoned the leaders, i.e., those whom they thought were leaders. But they soon found that all were leaders. So when they were nearly within reach of their destination the whole party was arrested. Thus their object (to get arrested) was accomplished. That

extreme reasonableness was mixed with such an unbending spirit was shown when the Indian strikers voluntarily stayed their activity during the strike of the Government railway men, which was certainly not a Passive Resistance Movement.

The Indian strikers at once stood aloof, and their self-restraint was much appreciated throughout the Empire; whilst it had not a little to do with the final settlement, for which negotiations were opened.

It will be easily imagined that India would not remain supine when a mighty effort was being made by her sons in this far-off continent. Under the splendid leadership of the late Honourable Mr. Gokhale, meetings of protest were held all over the country, and thousands of pounds were collected to aid the Resisters. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, who strongly protested in a public speech at Madras¹ against what was transpiring in South Africa, sent a Commission² to investigate the cause of the upheaval. A local Commission was appointed. Though for high political reasons, the Indian community as a whole refused to give evidence before it, the Commissioners completely vindicated the Resisters by declaring in favour of every one of the main contentions of the aggrieved Indians. And so at last legislation was passed, repealing the poll-tax, restoring racial equality in law, and recognizing the status of Indian wives. Thus ended the great struggle in 1914, after having lasted nearly eight years.

Mr. Doke, along with many considered it to be a religious or ethical struggle. It was not undertaken in order to gain individual rights but to gain national dignity. The methods adopted were not those of brute force or violence, but those of self-sacrifice and suffering. Repeal of obnoxious legislation was an embodiment of the vital principle that Indian sentiment must not be flouted on Indian matters. It was an admission of the right of the Indians to be consulted in everything affecting their status and intimate well-being. And it was for such an achievement that Mr. Doke laboured during his

¹ Delivered on November 24, 1913; *vide* Vol.XII, Appendix XVI.

² The Indian Enquiry Commission set up on December 11

life-time. Who knows how important a part he would have played in the more difficult work of reconstruction? Certainly the Indian community misses the guiding hand.

Joseph Doke : The Missionary-hearted, pp. 147-150

94. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Saturday [March 23, 1929]¹

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have all your letters. I would learn about Andhra Desh on reaching Calcutta. We will reach there tomorrow.

Kusumbehn must have arrived. I am not writing to her separately.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : S.N. 32847

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol.XL, pp. 129, 173, and 177. Gandhiji reached Calcutta on March 24, 1929, a Sunday.

95. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

*Silence Day [May 20, 1929]*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

Your letters are scarce these days. Is it to spare me or is it due to laziness or because nothing comes to your mind? It seems I shall have the reply only in person now. I shall no doubt reach before the 28th. Four days in Bombay would be hard. But it appears that that much time would be needed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9313

96. LETTER TO DAHIBEHN R. PATEL

*Tuesday [About October 1929]*²

CHI. DAHIBEHN³,

Why do you faint so often? Steady the mind. Rid the mind of anything that disturbs it. Eat very simple food. Don't let the stomach get heavy. Sit naked in the sun; but take care that the head does not get heated. If you wish to do any work, do it sitting. Take a hip-bath and walk a little every day. Take someone as an escort, when you wish to go anywhere. Take blue-ray treatment. Purushottam will guide you. Take it on the face. Don't allow depression to weigh your heart down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9207

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Bombay for four days before the 28th; in 1929 he reached Bombay on May 22 and was there till the 25th. It appears that the letter was written on the Monday (silence day) prior to his visit to Bombay.

² From the contents; *vide* Vol.XLII, p. 56.

³ Wife of Raojibhai M. Patel

97. TELEGRAM TO DINSHAW MEHTA

[November 1929]¹

DR. DINSHAW MEHTA
HEALTH HOTEL
POONA CITY

YOUR WIRE. REPLIED LETTER. FOR PRESENT BETTER SERVE COMMON
CAUSE AND MOTHER. LOVE TO YOU ALL.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 10513

98 . LETTER TO C. RAMALINGA REDDY

WARDHA,
December 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

My recollection is that Deshbandhu did insist on the release of prisoners but he was satisfied even if the Fatwah prisoners were excluded. This time we have to mount many steps before we come to the question of release.

Your sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

SJT. C.R. REDDY
VICE-CHANCELLOR
ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
BEZWADA

From a copy : C. W. 11337. Courtesy : Dr. N. Rama Murthy and C. A. Reddi

¹ Inferred from letters to the addressee in October- November 1929; *vide* Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 4, 78 and 129.

99. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
[1929]¹

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have committed a great blunder. Driven by a particular thought I just said that you should go to Calcutta. By all means, go to any place where you can find your peace of mind. I have had long arguments with you. I have prevented you from doing many things. We must give up the habit of indulging so much in arguments. In that state of mind I just told you to go to Calcutta if you so wished. But I cannot give you such a permission. It is one thing if you wish to go and do go and quite another if I happily permit you to go. Not only am I not in favour of your going to Calcutta, but I am against it. Considering my view, take an independent decision. It would not hurt me in any way. My reasons for opposing your going to Calcutta are as follows:

I have believed that there is no other city in India as wicked as Calcutta. The atrocities that are perpetrated in Calcutta can hardly be witnessed in any other city of the world. This comparison may be somewhat exaggerated. My knowledge about other cities is incomplete. But I have no doubt at all about the cities of India. In Calcutta, thousands of innocent lambs and goats are slaughtered in the name of religion. Such a thing is done nowhere else in India. Everyone, big and small, the learned and the foolish, are a party to this slaughter. No one stops to think about it even for a moment. The enlightened Calcutta does not even protest against it. And in this so-called age of reform, this cruel act is being performed day after day. Stand anywhere in the Bhawanipur area of Calcutta early in the morning and you will see flocks of sheep around. I have witnessed that sight with my own eyes. Right from that moment I had decided that I would never agree to any suggestion of my settling down at Calcutta. Again, in Calcutta, cows and buffaloes are milched after blowing. This process of blowing is so cruel that I cannot even describe it. This time

¹ From the contents. In 1929 Gandhiji returned to Ahmedabad from Calcutta; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 244.

I witnessed that too with my own eyes. Such cruel things always go on in Calcutta. The very thought that you should spend your life in that city and waste your time by engaging yourself in futile business is terrible for me. It seems to me that you cannot chalk out an ideal life from it. Only some divine creature may remain unaffected in spite of living in such hell. I do not take it for granted that you belong to that category. Think a thousand times about what you wish to do in life and then decide. This is all I wish to say.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Sabarmati Museum, Ahmedabad

100. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[About March, 1930]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I don't worry at all, since you are not likely to feel any burden. I see that guests will continue. Please look after all those who come properly. Dissuade anyone who may wish to follow me.

Shri. Mullick is the Municipal Engineer. He will go there in a day or two and advise you on how to increase the supply of water. See the Chandrabhaga² also. I have talked to Shri Mullick about Parnerkar. Get acquainted with him and introduce Parnerkar also to him.

What is Purushottam doing? Will he go for a change of air? If he had keen well, I would certainly have taken him with me. If you think it is necessary to consult me about anything please do so

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p.273

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XLIII, pp.87, 91-2 and 201-2.

² A rivulet near the Sabarmati Ashram, now dried up

101 LETTER TO TRILOKCHANDRAJI

Wednesday [April 2, 1930]¹

MUNISHRI TRILOKCHANDRAJI,

I feel that you need not join the satyagraha but should propagate its teaching to all in clear terms.

It will not be necessary to keep a watch as you suggest when the satyagraha becomes widespread. The latent power of truth and non-violence will act like electric current and keep the people under control.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Jainprakash, Margashirsha, 1987

102. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

Monday [On or before April 14, 1930]²

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I can understand your requirement. But I would value even a single minute I may get in Gujarat. I have sent you a telegram only yesterday morning. You would surely have received it. I have sent a telegram to Bhai Khatri also saying that I should be spared.

I am sending herewith a booklet³ which you should print and

¹ According to the source Gandhiji replied to the addressee's letter which was given to him in the morning before he left Surat during the Dandi March. This was on April 2, 1930, which was a Wednesday.

² From the reference to the "booklet" about which Gandhiji wrote in *Hindi Navajivan* dated April 17, 1930; *vide* Vol. XLIII, p. 275. The Monday prior to April 17 was April 14. Gandhiji was in Surat for a day on April 22.

³ *Satyagraha Yuddha*

sell. I had intended to publish it on Wednesday as a supplement of the *Navajivan* but now I am sending it to you. Carry on just with it. Even then, if you think it necessary, let me know at once so that I could come there on the 16th and return the same night. I think it necessary to come earlier by a day, instead of on the 17th. You would of course come to Surat on the 22nd. Look after your health well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32708

103. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

[After July 26, 1930]¹

CHI. BALI,

Your letter has come after a long time. I can understand that Harilal's behaviour pains you. But what else do we have to learn in the world except facing happy as well as unhappy times?

It is true that even though I have regarded you sisters as daughters, I have not been able to do anything. Nor has Ramdas been able to do anything. But at present, do I have anything except good feelings for my kith and kin? My way of life is unusual. If you can understand that while serving a miserable untouchable I am also serving you, then you will forgive me; but if you do not understand, you are bound to be angry. I must put up with it. I asked you to live with me and absorb yourselves with my work; but you have not done it. Hence, far that I am, what more can I do except wish you well?

You have started giving ornaments to Manu². I have just heard that you have pierced her ears. I was pained to hear that. By doing

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. XLIV, pp. 45-6.

² Manu Gandhi, addressee's niece

that, you have broken your agreement with me. I do not wish to hurt your feelings. But let us not make Manu a shuttle-cock between us. If you are agreeable to my request, bring her up according to my wishes. If you insist on not listening, then what can I say to you? I am not able to tell you anything and I am not able to bear such an act on your part. Write and explain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 5050. Courtesy : Surendra Mashruwala

104. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI AND MANU GANDHI

[After July 26, 1930]¹

CHI. RAMI AND MANU,

It is not nice that both of you have written the letter as Bali Masi dictated. I can understand if Manudi does not realize this. But what should I say about Rami? I have not the faintest memory of having turned back Rami from Amreli. Of course, I was not in favour of giving more money for meeting Manilal. I had asked Manilal to spend the money if he had something on him. But surely he did not have. Kunvarji is a poor man and how can he be made to spend? And what money can I have? After all, public money cannot be used indiscriminately. I would certainly wish that Rami should remember this much teaching. Bali Masi is an elder, her ideas are great, her capacity is great. You cannot imitate her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Manu should have taken my permission before she had her nose and ears pierced.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9704

¹ *Vide* the preceding item which has reference to piercing of Manu's ears.

105. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES¹

YERAVDA,
October 30, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your warm letter of 9th Sept last. I may not say anything beyond thanking you for the letter.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

REV. J.H. HOLMES

From a photostat of the original : C.W. 113520. Courtesy : Robert D. Berman, New York

106. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

[1930]²

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Neither you nor Nanibehn³ should worry. For now I will not part with those of you who have remained behind. I shall see the result of the step I have taken. You and Nanibehn should try to teach Mahalakshmi what she finds difficult. Tell Ba that I shall most probably reach there tonight.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3129

¹ The letter was written while Gandhiji was in custody and not able to speak his mind.

² From the contents; *vide* Vol. XLIII, p. 326.

³ Wife of addressee's stepson, Pannalal Jhaveri

107. A NOTE

[After February 6, 1931]¹

The ashes may certainly be preserved and something erected over them -- memorial subscriptions cannot be collected just now. If we close the struggle with success, much can and will be done.

Jawaharlal has to go tomorrow. The ashes will be consigned to the Ganges. But he should reserve some for the Swaraj Bhavan and bring them in an urn.

From a photostat : G.N. 5084

108. LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL

Silence Day [After May 29, 1931]²

CHI. MANGALA,

I have your letter. Your handwriting is passably good. But there are too many blotches. Do you remember Ramdas Swami's song I sent you in this connection?³

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 11103. Courtesy : Pushpa Naik

¹ From the contents. Motilal Nehru died at Allahabad on February 6, 1931; *vide* also vol.XLV, p.202.

² From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol.II, pp. 259-60.

³ For Gandhiji's references to Ramdas Swami's stanzas on the importance of good handwriting, *vide* Vol.XLIV, pp. 77 and 171.

109. LETTER TO SHARADA G. CHOKHAWALA

SIMLA,
[May-August 1931]¹

CHI. SHARADA,

Have you stopped writing letters to me because I have stopped writing? I have stopped writing because I am not in prison. I must be in prison to write letters regularly. Should I go to prison, or will you write even otherwise?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 9960. Courtesy : Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala

110. LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA

[About March 1932]²

PARASRAM,

Questions were being left unanswered. The thing which is seen settling down in urine is the natural salt. Everyone has some of it more or less.

It is good if a new entrant is medically examined. The question remains whether we can cope with it or no. Neem stick, like *babul* stick, gives good service.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7480; also C. W. 4955.
Courtesy : Parasram Mehrotra

¹ From the contents. Gandhiji was in Simla in May, July and August in 1931; *vide* also letters to the addressee in Vol.XLVI.

² From the contents; *vide* Vol.XLIX, pp. 214-5.

111. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

[Before October 8, 1933]¹

DEAR HARIBHAU,

Received your letter. I shall find time and discuss with Ramnarayan. You must be keeping good health. Jamnalalji tells me that you are preparing for the *yatra*. I am trying to be an ideal prisoner even here. The ethical codes prescribed by you for Chaitanya Muni appear to be correct. But if he does not have a spontaneous desire and depends on my advice, my duty is to prevent him from changing the dress, because the fault is not in that dress but in its misuse. Chaitanya Muni can become a thorough scholar and render great service by pointing out his religion without fear and following it in practice. He must endeavour to study in depth Sanskrit and Magadhi. This is of primary importance in the dress of a Jain *muni*. But the *munis* hardly follow it in practice. Untouchability or what is today known as *varnashramadharma* has no place at all in the Jain philosophy. They must vehemently point it out, and before they talk about it, they must be fully convinced about it. There is no restriction on a Jain *muni* teaching anyone. Hence, he must get around at least a few Harijan children and educate them. If he has been convinced that Jainism is not different from Hinduism, he must establish it. If this leads to boycott, he must lovingly face it and continue in his path of service. I think this includes everything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ This letter appears in Vol.LVI, p.69 as a reply to a correspondent under "Answer to Correspondents". The whole letter, with the exception of the first few sentences, has been reproduced in *Harijanbandhu*, 8-10-1933; *vide* also Suppl. Vol. II, p. 486.

112. LETTER TO SHARADA G. CHOKHAWALA

Diwali [November 7, 1934]¹

CHI. SHARADA,

How do you expect a letter from me when you yourself do not write to me? Now see that you turn over a new leaf in the New Year and do not fall ill. Your treatment lies in your own hands.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9942. Courtesy : Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala

113. LETTER TO F.L. BRAYNE

WARDHA, C.P.,
December 25, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

For some years I have been a student of your rural reconstruction work. I had occasion to publish a critical study of your Gurgaon experiment². As I am doing the same kind of work, I would love to profit by your experience, if you will give me the benefit of it. What I should appreciate is a detailed description of your scheme and the result so far attained of its working.³

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

F.L. BRAYNE, ESQ., I.C.S.
COMMISSIONER, RURAL RECONSTRUCTION
LAHORE
PUNJAB

From a copy : Brayne Collection, MSS. Eur. F 152/36. Courtesy : India Office Records Library

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. LVII, p.281. The new year, according to the Gujarati Calendar, begins from *Diwali* which in 1934 fell on this date.

² *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 143-9.

³ *Vide* Vol. LX, pp. 269-70.

114. LETTER TO DR. P.C. RAY

MAGANWADI,
[Before November 2, 1935]¹

DEAR DR. RAY,

It is most cheering to find you taking such interest in the spread of the charkha. The scheme is being slowly inaugurated. [The]² demand for khadi is bound to be reshuffled . . .³ may for want of faith of the workers sup . . .⁴ temporary check. I would like you, therefore, as you travel, to sow the seed and create a demand for khadi in the immediate neighbourhood of production centres. Once this is done, khadi will occupy its natural and deserved place.

If it is not an undue strain upon you I would suggest your reading all that is being written in the *Harijan* about the scheme.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

¹ From the reference to the new khadi scheme and to the addressee's efforts towards the spread of khadi; *vide* Vol.LXII, pp.52-3, 66 and 86. This was evidently written before the article in *Harijan*, 2-11-1935, wherein Gandhiji refers to this letter.

^{2,3 & 4} These portions in the source are damaged.

115. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

WARDHA,
[1935]¹

CHI. VALJI,

Received the articles. Let Chitre come there if he wants. Right now he has gone elsewhere. He writes that he wants to learn there the science of bee-keeping. Your nephew must be well. I am happy that you are there. I would not like to move you from there for the time being. Are your eyes cured? Do whatever work you can in the field of village industries.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 11172. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

116. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before April 23, 1936]²

CHI. MAHADEV,

I did expect that you would send Shivprasad's letter after making a fair copy. It would be good if, in my old age, I could personally teach Vijaya and Manu how to read and write at any rate. I, therefore, give some dictation to both of them after the prayer. I think that even with my left hand I would write faster than they do, more legibly at any rate. But I have found this key for training them, and I am holding on to it. My handwriting is none too good, either. So I allowed the letter as taken down by Vijaya to go, as also the one

¹ The year has been inferred from the fact that the All India Village Industries Association was established in December 1934 and the references to Chitre in letters to the addressee are to be found from 1935 onwards; *vide* also Vol.LXI, p.310 for the letter expressing concern about the addressee's eyes.

² From the reference to Gandhiji's proposed visit to Nagpur and from the contents this letter appears to have been written before April 23, 1936 when Gandhiji reached Nagpur, presumably to attend the Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad meeting.

by Manudi¹. That 'mission' became "machine" is not so very important. But I did sympathize with Shivprasad. Although I had expected that you would have a fair copy made if you found it too difficult to read, Bablo², Durga,³ Prabhudayal or, if free, Kanu could have made a copy. I must have presumed some such thing. But what can we do, now that the arrow has sped from the bow? Let it strike Shivprasad. Why should he have asked such questions? Kuruvilla is free himself to send the note prepared by you.

You will have to accompany me to Hodge's. Do whatever you can for Daniel Hamilton. I will of course try to detain Rajkumari⁴. When should we reach Nagpur? Decide this if it has not already been done, so that I may know when I will have to leave Segaon. Please remember and caution other visitors that the wooden bridge on the longer route has been pulled down. Hence cars, etc., should not take this route.

Read Moore's⁵ letter to Rajkumari and then destroy it.

Jamnalalji will have arrived before Anandshankarbhai⁶ does. Even if he has not, why not put up Anandshankarbhai at his place? But do what you think best. If there is no reply from Madan Mohan⁷, make alternative arrangements for his stay in consultation with Jajuji⁸ or Radhakisan. Tikekar is, of course, there. He would be comfortable at his place also. But he is in bad shape these days. Hence it would be better to make some other arrangement.

I talked to Rambhau and also told him not to have his meals with you. I also asked him to leave Wardha immediately. But what can I do when you yourself are soft? Pyarelal says that he too had scolded him severely. You can tell him on my behalf that he may either leave or take his meals anywhere else he wishes. I knew nothing about the bangles.

¹ Manu S. Mashruwala

² Addressee's son, Narayan

³ Addressee's wife

⁴ Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

⁵ Bishop Moore; *vide* also Vol.LXIV, p. 434 and Vol. LXV, p.4.

⁶ Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruv

⁷ Jamnalal Bajaj's Secretary

⁸ Shrikrishnadas Jaju

I have read Chopra's booklet. We do have a copy. It was lent to Mahodaya¹. It came eight or nine months ago. Its title is likely to be 'Indian Drugs' rather than 'Indian Plants'.

I am writing to Jugal Kishore and Pattani. Jajuji's lot is pitiable. Keep in touch with him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original : S.N. 11519

117. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

[About September 1936]²

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I cannot understand why there was no news yesterday.

Hearty congratulations to both of you for the termination of mutual non-co-operation. This news has removed a heavy burden of anxiety from my head. Let the co-operation grow from day to day. I hope to get much work from both of you.

I will inquire from the doctor why he did not come yesterday.

More kudos to Balwant Singh for progress in the production of butter. It is one more step forward that Prahlad, Govind and Rajaram have started taking butter-milk there. Everything will be all right if we hold our patience. I will inquire if anyone needs butter-milk here. I will procure *Ramayana* for you. You need not try to secure it. Now I know that letters and newspapers were sent from Maganwadi yesterday also but they could not be forwarded from the bungalow. It would be better if someone brought them here. It seems necessary to spend some money over this arrangement. Now it is exactly five

¹ Dr. Mahodaya

² From the contents it is evident that the letter was written about this time; *vide* Vol. LXIII, pp. 269 and 314.

o'clock. Neither Sadashiv nor Prahlad has arrived. Sadashiv has already taken letters and newspapers from Maganwadi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8595

118. LETTER TO LAKSHMI NARAYAN

ON THE TRAIN,
April 26, 1937

BHAI LAKSHMI NARAYAN,

Moral degradation is absolutely inexcusable.

There could be different legal opinions in the matter of zone ticket, etc.

Propagation of Hindi has definitely suffered on account of Pandit Sharma's¹ downfall².

Inscrutable are the ways of God.

[Adoption of] Hindi-Hindustani should never lead to spoiling of the language. It is indeed true that deliberate omission of non-Sanskrit words, such as Persian, etc., makes the language chaste.

Yours,
M.K. GANDHI

SHRI LAKSHMI NARAYAN
BHARATIYA VISHARAD
HINDI VIDYAPITH
DEOGHAR, BIHAR

From the Hindi original : Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Pandit Harihar Sharma

² *Vide* Vol. LXV, pp. 39, 45-7 and 61.

[After September 1937]¹

The C. however understand that the object of the amendment is to secure uniformity of policy and practice among Congressmen in the Province and strict confirmation to discipline. This object can be easily obtained by the P.C.C. passing a by- law whereby any member who commits a breach of the fundamental policy of the Congress or of the observances enjoined by the constitution or any by- laws would be deprived of the right of voting. The P.C.C. may also pass a by- law preventing the formation of any organization by Congressmen except with its consent in writing previously obtained at Congress meetings. The Committee recognize the special difficulties of the Congress in the Frontier Province. Great latitude that is enjoyed by Congressmen in politically advanced provinces is not to be expected in the Frontier Province. Khan A.G. Khan² is the acknowledged leader without a rival in the Province. He experiences difficulties in working the Congress in the Province. He is a silent worker. The C. expect Congressmen in the Province to help him in the difficult task in front of him.

The organism of Khudai Khidmatgars is Khan Saheb's own creation. It is in the nature of a non-violent army of volunteers. Khan Saheb has very appropriately called it Servants of God because his conception of Independent India is an India dedicated to the service of humanity. Though K. has generously placed at the disposal of the Congress the services of this great organization, if it is to retain its efficiency, it must remain under Khan Saheb as Supreme Commander and subject to his role discipline. It is also necessary that there should be no other organization of volunteers formed by the F. Province Congress Committee.

From a copy : Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Congress Ministry in N.W.F.P. was formed on September 6, 1937. Gandhiji subsequently visited the N.W.F.P. in 1938.

² Abdul Ghaffar Khan

120. NOTE TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[April, 1938]¹

Now, what is to be done?² Mataji says you cannot go. Yes, it is indeed a matter of health. Everybody must agree to that. Nobody will let you die here. I have of course been a little careless. Lost in my own worries, I have neglected your eating and drinking. To an extent, I also trusted you. Mirabeen's reason is altogether different. I have written her a letter saying that she spreads poison by talking to others about you and me. And so, she should not talk about you and me to anyone. She has found this a hard condition. That is why she is silent. That is no doubt a good thing to happen.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

121. NOTE TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[After July 4, 1938]²

Does Balakrishna need an understanding person for 24 hours? Then that should be arranged. Talk it over with Chimanlal. One person can go at night. Both Krishnachandra and Sankaran are good workers. It may be necessary to have three shifts during the day. Just see. Among those who can go to him are Anand, Kanu, Bhansali, Krishnachandra and, if necessary, even Chakrayya and Raj Bhushan. See what can be done.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Inferred from the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol.III, pp. 148-9.

² Inferred from Gandhiji's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj of July 4, 1938 on which day Balakrishna Bhavé who was suffering from tuberculosis was to be taken to hospital.

122. A LETTER

[About August 1938]¹

For what is Rajaram going to Wardha? Are the *mosambis* over? What good is your thinking so? Ba says that there are still many *mosambis* left. Find out correctly and tell me. How many are there? They are more than enough. Pyarelal would need very few or none at all. Who all are taking *mosambis*? Chimanlal, etc.? The point is that it should not be made a duty for Rajaram to go. If it can be managed, he should not be sent in such rains. I have been facing such problems from the days of South Africa. There too a particular man went to the city every day. I came to know about it. I took up cudgels and resolved that he should go only twice a week. Thereby, I saved energy, time and money. He who observes non-violence should learn to put up with inconveniences. Creating only means of comfort is the religion of violent creatures. Hence, let it be made clear that Rajaram should not be sent unless there is a particular reason. It is not a question only of today. If it is necessary, he may go today. If he goes, and does not deliver the post let the post be left behind. Let everyone understand this. Whatever advantages are given to me would mean that much of my time is saved.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 11323

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. LXVII, pp.259, 260 and 279.

123. NOTE TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[Before *September 16, 1938*]¹

You should completely stop talking to him. What is the good of unnecessarily harassing? Tell everyone to sit with him for a while, but he should not be allowed to talk.

As long as Pyarelal is ill, I would not enjoy the massage, etc. Where do you even have the time? I consider it sinful to take two hours of your time. Therefore, I wish that for the time being you should stop the massage on your own. As for bathing, I shall do it myself.

You must think over all that should be done for Balakrishna. Tell Krishnachandra what should be done. He would send daily reports to you and Mahadev and also to David if necessary. Perhaps Mahodaya can pay even daily visits to Balkoba. Discuss everything with him. That of course I have seen.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

124. NOTE TO PYARELAL

[Before *September 20, 1938*]²

Right now I am full of thoughts, so many as to drive a man crazy. One of them is that when we go to Delhi you should go to the Frontier Province. I am deciding about the rest.

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From the contents; *vide* Vol. LXVII, pp. 273 & 347.

² From the contents; *ibid*, pp. 346-7 and 393.

125. A NOTE

[About December 9, 1938]¹

It is my advice that the Mewar satyagraha should be suspended for the moment.

Take Rameshwari Nehru for the khadi exhibition. She is a good lady. Rajkumari has gone to Jullunder at the moment. Hence she cannot be taken.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11320. Courtesy : Not known

126. NOTE TO PADMAJA NAIDU

[1938]²

If you have run away, correspond with me freely but not at the risk of your health. I was asking the old woman whether you could go or can she go to Hyderabad.

If you can make an authorized statement merely of facts, you may do so if you are sure of your facts.

I could not deal with it more fully than I did there. I will gladly write more, if you prompt me by raising questions better in the form of a signed letter.

Have you any status with Mr. Akbar³? All I can say for the present is that one should sit still and watch. If an opportunity occurs, intervention may take place. No use plunging in unknown waters.

¹ From the reference to satyagraha in Mewar, where there had been repression during this period and also from the mention of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's having gone to Jullunder; *vide* Vol.LXVIII, pp.195 and 415-16.

² From the contents; *vide* Suppl. Vol.III, pp. 217, 218, 223 and 224.

³ Akbar Hydari, Dewan of Hyderabad

You assure. . .¹ that I don't want to interfere with anything at all. I certainly do not want to confiscate a single article of jewellery, nor do I want Sarup to feel constrained to wear khaddar sari even today, much less tomorrow. She is her own mistress today and so shall she remain tomorrow. I quite agree with you that things should be finished smoothly -- I have only given my opinion today on one matter and that too when asked.

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

127. LETTER TO SHARADABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA

[1938]²

CHI. SHARADA,

It can be only thus, now that you have come in my grip. It is just that you have fallen into my clutches. Have you come knowingly and of your own free volition? I have, of course, said that you are not one to yield easily. Well, now you have come to me, but after what a long wait? Had I not been trying for several years? You must have fomentation every day after you take *katisnan* as sitz bath and not friction bath. Dinshaw's treatment requires that put your feet in hot water. The vessel containing hot water would be placed between two bath-tubs. One with hot water and one with cold must be placed opposite each other. The feet would be already in hot water and you will have to move from one tub to the other.

¹ Illegible in the source

² From the suggestion in the post-script that the addressee was learning music; *vide* Vol. LXVII, p.365.

I am not writing to Nanavati, Chimanlal, Dahyalal and Manjula.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You must acquire good knowledge of notes.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9974. Courtesy : Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala

128. TELEGRAM TO MR. PATHER¹

April 7, 1939

PATHER CHAIRMAN
CARE RUSTOMJEE
DURBAN PIETERMARITZBURG

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S MESSAGE MUST IMPROVE RELATIONS EUROPEANS
INDIANS SOUTH AFRICA.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

¹ This was in reply to a request by Mr. Pather, Chairman of the newly-instituted Gandhi-Tagore lecturership, for a message for the inaugural lecture under its auspices by Sir S. Radhakrishnan on April 10, 1939.

129. TELEGRAM TO A.I. KAJEE¹

April 16, 1939

KAJEE
DURBANSUB

SUGGESTION DIFFICULT. WHOLE THING DEPENDS YOUR EFFORT.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

130. CABLE TO Y.M. DADOO²

May 4, 1939

DOCTOR DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG

YOU HAVE TO SUFFER NOT I. THEREFORE LET GOD ALONE BE YOUR GUIDE³.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 11353. Courtesy: E. S. Reddy; also *South Africa's Freedom Struggle*, p.296

¹ This was in reply to a telegram of May 11, 1939, from Mr. Kajee, Secretary of the South African Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress, requesting Gandhiji to appeal to General Herzog and General Smuts to postpone the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Bill and agree to a Round Table Conference.

² Leader of the Passive Resistance Committee in South Africa. "Who is Dadoo?", Gandhiji enquired later of Manilal, writing to him on June 25; *vide* Vol. LXIX, p.373. For his acknowledgement of the identity of the addressee, *vide* p. 106-7.

³ The was in reply to the addressee's wire of May 2, 1939, which read: "Union Government introducing interim bill tomorrow. Community resolved offer satyagraha. Expecting your blessings and guidance".

131. TELEGRAM TO SIR RAZA ALI¹

June 3, 1939

SIR RAZLI
CECIL
SIMLA

AM CONSTANT TOUCH OUR COUNTRYMEN SOUTH AFRICA.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

132. LETTER TO KUNVAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD

June 5, 1939

DEAR SIR JAGDISH,

Many thanks for your full letter of 31st ultimo on the S.A. Indian question. I share the hope with you that H.M.'s Government will make effective representations. The expression Commonwealth of Nations, has no meaning for us if what is going on in S.A., Kenya, etc., is its connotation. I had a full chat with Sir Girjashanker² . . .³

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ This was in response to a telegram from Sir Sayed Raza Ali, received on June 3, 1939, which read: "INDIANS MEETING JOHANNESBURG TOMORROW TO CONSIDER CIVIL RESISTANCE. AM ADVISING THEM AGAINST IT AS PREMATURE INDIA TOO WEAK TO HELP THEM. PLEASE CABLE YOUR ADVICE CONGRESS CARE GABACO JOHANNESBURG."

² Sir Girjashanker Bajpai

³ Omission as in the source

133. CABLE TO GENERAL J.C. SMUTS¹

ABBOTABAD,
July 16, 1939

IMPLORE YOU PREVENT INDIAN TRAGEDY BY REFRAINING FROM NEED-
LESS WOUNDING OF THEIR SELF-RESPECT. IT TAKES VERY LITTLE TO
PLACATE THEM. YOU HAVE GREAT POWER. MUST YOU USE IT AGAINST
A HANDFUL WHO HAVE DONE UNION NO INJURY.

GANDHI

South Africa's Freedom Struggle, p.299

134. CABLE TO GENERAL J.C. SMUTS²

ABBOTABAD
July 17, 1939

GENERAL SMUTS
CAPETOWN (SOUTH AFRICA)

WHY IS AGREEMENT OF 1914 BEING VIOLATED WITH YOU AS
WITNESS? IS THERE NO HELP FOR INDIANS EXCEPT TO PASS
THROUGH FIRE?

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 11354. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, p. 299

135. CABLE TO Y.M. DADOO

July 19, 1939

DR. DADOO

POSTPONE PASSIVE RESISTANCE TILL FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.³

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 11355. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, p. 300

¹ Gen. Smuts' cable in reply dated July 19, 1939, read: "... Government has
whole question under careful consideration and will communicate in due course
with Indian Government. I hope our proposal will remove causes of existing
friction."

² Who cabled his reply on July 19 thus : "... situation is being carefully
examined and there is no intention to violate 1914 agreement ... "

³ *Vide* Vol. LXX, p.44.

136. CABLE TO MANILAL GANDHI

July 19, 1939

[MANILAL] GANDHI
INDIAN OPINION
PHOENIX (NATAL)
SOUTH AFRICA

POSTPONE PASSIVE RESISTANCE TILL FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. CABLED
DADOO.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 11356. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, p.300

137. CABLE TO Y.M. DADOO¹

July 25, 1939

DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG (S.AFRICA)

POSTPONEMENT ADVISED BECAUSE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED-
ING. RESULT EXPECTED SOON. ANNOUNCE POSTPONEMENT DUE MY
ADVICE IF PEOPLE IN EARNEST. NOTHING LOST BY SHORT POSTPONE-
MENT. TREAT THIS CONFIDENTIAL.

BAPU

From a photostat: C. W. 11357. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, P. 301

¹ This was in reply to a cable from Y.M. Dadoo and Manilal Gandhi, dated July 22, 1939, saying that unless there were "sound reasons for postponement our position with people will be precarious". They had further requested Gandhiji to give them full details of his reasons for postponement of the passive resistance campaign.

138. TELEGRAM TO DR. DADOO¹

August 11, 1939

PENDING FINAL DIRECTION RATHER DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS STILL GOING. PLEAD FOR PATIENCE. WE MUST LOSE NO CHANCE SETTLEMENT. WILL NOT WASTE TIME.

GANDHI

South Africa's Freedom Struggle, pp. 303-4

139. LETTER TO Y.M. DADOO

SEGAON, WARDHA
August 19, 1939

MY DEAR DADOO,

It has stirred me to find you leading the Satyagraha band. Manilal and Medh have together given me a good account of you. It makes me glad to know that you are the son of a valued client² of mine.

You know that I am watching your movement as closely as I can. You have done well in sending me the relevant literature. There is just a ray of hope that we shall reach a settlement. But you will

¹ This was in reply to a cable dated August 9, 1939 from the addressee, which *inter alia* read : " ... Handful Indian anti-passive resisters misconstruing object postponement struggle. Desirable pray cable in detail, precise nature and basis negotiations and fix time limit for postponement. We are not informed what negotiations transpiring".

² Mahomed Mamuji Dadoo

not expect anything heroic nor will you promise great things. If you have to fight it will be a fight for honour. You won't get anything very substantial. Too much has already been surrendered during these years. You are engaged in a very hard struggle. And if as a result of the present effort a handful of you make the mission of your life to serve the cause there, you will gradually build up a prestige that will stand you in good stead.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 11346. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's Freedom Struggle*, p. 305

140. LETTER TO KUNVAR SIR JAGDISH PRASAD¹

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 21, 1939

DEAR SIR JAGDISH,

I know you have been putting up a good fight on behalf of the Indians in S. A. I have been staying their hand. But they are getting restive. They won't be satisfied with any patch-work settlement. I know, too, that nothing brave is to be expected from here. It is therefore doubly necessary not to prolong the agony. If you can, you should tell Rama Rau² to keep himself in touch with the Passive Resisters. As you know there are two parties there. He should take the P.R.s into his confidence. They complain that he does not even

¹ Sir Jagdish Prasad wrote to Gandhiji on July 13 and 21, 1939. In the first letter, he suggested that the move by some Indians in South Africa to embark on passive resistance would be a grave mistake. In the second letter, he expressed gratitude to Gandhiji for asking Transvaal Indians to postpone passive resistance.

² Sir Benegal Rama Rau, Agent-General of India in South Africa

recognize them. I can hardly believe this of Rama Rau. I am making inquiry. But I thought you should know what I am getting from S.A.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

141. CABLE TO Y.M. DADOO ¹

August 28, 1939

MAKING EFFORT. HAVE INFORMATION SAYING UNION GOVERN-
MENT WILL CONCILIATE INDIAN OPINION. NOTHING RELIABLE.
WILL SOON GIVE DEFINITE NEWS.

GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 11351. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's Freedom Struggle*, p. 307

¹ In reply to the addressee's cable received on August 27 which read : "Reliable information that Union Government rejected Indian Government offer for Round Table Conference. Union Government intimated that advance copy contemplated legislation shall be forwarded to Indian Government. Appeal negotiations proceeding on future legislation. Concerned no mention Act 1939 on which we pledged struggle. Pray inform progress."

142. CABLE TO HAJEE E.M. PARUK, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS¹

September 1941

E. M. PARUK
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
37 ALBERT STREET
DURBAN

WISH SUCCESS. HOPE INTERNAL DISSENSIONS COMPOSED.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

143. LETTER TO SIR SHAFAT AHMED KHAN²

SEVAGRAM,
October 9, 1941

DEAR SIR SHAFAT,

I am delighted to have your letter just received. I was glad to learn of your appointment as High Commissioner. Nothing less than what you have so nobly said in your letter could be expected of you.

¹ The addressee, a sugar-mill owner, became President of the Natal Indian Congress in 1940 when a group led by A.I. Kajeer revived the NIC, refusing to recognize the amalgamation of the NIC and the Colonial-born and Indian Settlers Association in 1939 to form the Natal Indian Association.

² This was in reply to a letter from the addressee dated October 7, 1941, informing Gandhiji that he had been appointed High Commissioner of India in the Union of South Africa. He wished to pay his respects to Gandhiji before his departure from India, and discuss the problem of Indians in South Africa.

I know that you have before you a most difficult task. May God be your help. I appreciate your desire to see me before you sail. I shall be delighted to meet you and place at your disposal all I know about the problem and our people in the Union.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : National Archives of India

144. CABLE TO Y.M. DADOO ¹

October 23, 1939

DADOO
47 ENDSTREET
JOHANNESBURG

ADVISE PATIENCE. SEND DETAILS WHAT GOES ON.

BAPU

From a photostat : C.W. 11347. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy; also *South Africa's Freedom Struggle*, p.310

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's cable of October 21, 1939 which read: "Act of 1939 inflicting intolerable hardships on growing number of our people. Patience stretched to straining point. Pray cable definite advice".

145. CABLE TO J.C. SMUTS

October 23, 1939

GENERAL SMUTS
PRETORIA

DISTURBING NEWS FROM INDIAN FRIENDS JOHANNESBURG. TRUST YOU
ARE NOT ENFORCING NEW LEGISLATION. SUGGEST YOUR INVITING
DR. DADOO SEE YOU.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 11348. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy . Also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, p.310

146. CABLE TO J.C. SMUTS¹

November 8, 1939

PRIME MINISTER
PRETORIA

YOUR KIND CABLE. GREATLY RELIEVED.

GANDHI

From a photostat : C. W. Courtesy : E. S. Reddy . Also *South Africa's
Freedom Struggle*, p.311

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's wire which read: "No justification for alarm. Dr. Dadoo evidently misinformed and is being granted interview by Minister of Interior."

147. LETTER TO Y.M. DADOO

SEGAON
December 13, 1939

MY DEAR DADOO,

I have your clear and firm letter. Gen. Smuts sent me a cable in reply to mine that the minister was seeing you¹. He said too that I need have no anxiety. My opinion therefore is based on this assurance. The brunt has to be borne by you. Therefore my advice must always be in favour of caution. But you must be the final judge. Only you should know that just now you should entertain no hope of much work being done here. You will have to fight single-handed. If therefore, you can tide over the war period, it will be good. But I can imagine a situation when submission would be unmanly. This is a matter of feeling. Of this you must be the sole judges. You will now act as you think best. You will keep me informed of the doings there. Please show this to Medh and Manilal. I am not writing separately to them.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : C.W. 11350. Courtesy : E.S. Reddy. Also *South Africa's Freedom Struggle*, pp. 313-4

¹ *Vide* footnote to "Cable to J.C. Smuts", November 8, 1939.

148. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA,

[Before February 15, 1940]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

Received your two letters. How should I reply to you? You see everything in me from the wrong end. I have never said that you cannot move with me at all. It is likely that you would go with me from time to time. But I do not agree to the distinctions you made. The belief that Kanu is in one compartment and A.S. in another is incorrect for all times. It is I who must decide from time to time who would go with me and at what time. But your letters suggest that we are looking at it from different vantage points. May it be so.

I am sending three articles this time.

I see no meaning in the Prabhudas affair. How does it matter to you if Devdas has taken a distorted view? That image of three monkeys should be with you, not with me. Do you want it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

149. LETTER TO PYARELAL

*Diwali, 8.30 p.m. [November 11, 1940]*²

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am able to reply to your letter only now. About the man-

¹ From the contents. In 1940, Gandhiji left Wardha for Calcutta on February 15 on a month-long tour and had been writing to the addressee, dissuading her from accompanying him on his tour; *vide* Supplementary Vol.III, p.297.

From the contents it appears that this letter belongs to 1940, in which year Diwali fell on this date.

woman question I shall only say this. I had talked of the ideal I had indicated that I would prefer. But any decision can be given only after considering all the attendant circumstances. Risk is no doubt involved in a man taking service from a woman. Hence the principle I mentioned can be followed in practice only to a very limited extent. Applying it in my own case, I certainly cannot take service from just anyone. I too have to be on my guard. Considering all this, I have come to the conclusion that if I must take service from a woman, it should only be from Sushila. Till such time as she is not here, I should take whatever service I can have from you. It is altogether another matter what should be done if Sushila finally does not come.

Under no circumstances can I have A.S. do the massage, etc. For it would not do any good neither to her or to me. I cannot bear the thought that I am like God to her. I do not possess those attributes. You should take it that I merely suffer her. So you must dissuade her. I certainly can dissuade her myself but I should not like to shoulder the responsibility.

It is true that I rarely sleep facing you. The reason is this; I have let her get into a certain habit. I cannot suddenly break away. Here it is not a question of a person being of the same sex or the opposite sex but of a person as person. It would have been the same if I had allowed a man to get into the habit. There is one thing about her though. She is not able to cling to me. I had the desire but with some difficulty I have freed myself from it.

As for you, I could sleep with you all the time and still it would not be enough for you. To satisfy that desire of yours I would have to give up sleeping. I could do even that. But I have not found it necessary. That is why I have been putting up with it as far as possible. I have told you that I find it difficult to sleep with somebody in bodily contact with me. I would put up with that only if you came to sleep early and left after a little physical contact. But I would not be very eager for it because when I am really asleep, I cannot do even that. I would like you to be satisfied with whatever physical contact you have while serving me. To give you that satisfaction I would be willing not to take service from any other person and have yours. I would not test you. I would regard it sinful to do so. For testing you I would not sleep with you even for a moment. My faith is backed by knowledge. I had to ask you about the Koran, and the

knowledge that I gained thereby was sufficient for me. I have no doubt about it at all.

Now I think I have replied to most of the points. In short

- (1) I only want to take from you whatever service you can give.
 (2) When Sushila comes, you may discontinue your services for her sake, but I would have no objection if you continued. I would like it as much as I do service from Sushila. A.S. means a lot to me. But because of her mistaken belief I only put up with such service as she gives. I would be happy if she left me today. I would be happy if she gave up serving me today. That is my sincere attempt. It is the opposite in your case. I would like to accept as much service from you as you would give. I have taken that service. I have known its worth.

- (3) Hence, you have got to free me soon from massage by A.S.

I forgot to mention one thing. I do not like it the least bit that you lie on a mat all through the night. I know I could have pampered you. I purposely hardened my heart. It is your duty to sleep on a proper bed covering yourself. It is wrong and sinful not to do so. It is certainly upsetting for me. So, it is not right that, even if unwittingly, you are testing me by sleeping on a mat.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

150. LETTER TO MAGAN AND MANJULA MEHTA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA

[Before *December 27, 1940*]¹

CHI. MAGAN AND MANJULA,

I was very pleased that you two came and stayed. Appa's name is Indrajit² and Munna's Dharmapal³. They may be called Indra

¹ From the contents it appears that this letter was written before the one to the addressees dated December 27, 1940; *vide* Vol. LXXIII, p. 261.

^{2 3} Addressees' sons

and Dharma in short.

I have not been able to prepare a plan of the house, but all told, it will probably cost Rs.5,000/-. The house itself will take up 4,900 sq. ft. Then there will have to be a fence. The lavatory, etc., will be separate. Counting all this the expense is estimated to be Rs.5,000/-

Urmila is well. Do not worry in the least. She slept with Ba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 1038. Courtesy : Manjula Mehta

151. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

[1940]¹

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

A measuring-tape is a good thing. We do not want to give up everything modern. The tape needs some improvement. Assign the work to Bharatanandji² [for making] improvements in order to facilitate its use by the rural folk. The rest will be done by Sushilabehn. If it is possible it might perhaps be better to have all water boiled. It is good to follow the rule to the extent possible. According to the analysis of the experts the wells here remain polluted throughout the year. That is another reason why there has been no case of typhoid ever since boiled water began to be used.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4409

¹ From the contents; *vide* letters to the addressee in Vol. LXXII, pp. 121 and 146.

² Maurice Frydman, a Polish engineer who became a follower of Gandhiji

152. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

Tuesday [1940]¹

BHAI KASHINATH,

Received your letter. I am sending this much today. The booklet is all right but the absence of the table of contents is a great fault. Let Ramnarayan look after the *Hindi Navajivan* and you join the Ajmer struggle. I would like that arrangement. You should not go till it becomes absolutely necessary. At present men are required there also. Mahadev has gone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 5287

153. LETTER TO DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, WARDHA

January 16, 1941

Shri Vinoba Bhave, who was discharged yesterday from the Central Jail, Nagpur will offer Civil Disobedience again from Sevagram Chowk at 9 A.M.² tomorrow by addressing a meeting on the duty of carrying on anti-war propaganda within the limits prescribed by the law of non-violence as I understand it.

India Office Library and Records : IOR R/3/1/341, p.12

¹ From the reference to the Ajmer struggle; *vide* Vol. LXXII, pp. 1-2, 10, 35-6 and 43-4.

² Civil Disobedience which had been suspended from December 24, 1940 to January 4, 1941 was resumed on January 5, 1941. Individual satyagraha had been begun by Vinoba Bhave on January 17; *vide* also Vol. LXXIII, p. 273.

154. LETTER TO VENKATASWAMI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA [C.P.],
May 14, 1941

DEAR VENKATASWAMI,

I note what you say about the nomination of candidates for the M.U. Senate.

Yours Sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

SHRI K. VENKATASWAMI NAIDU
B.A. B.L.
KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat : Venkataswami Naidu Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

155. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After July 3, 1941]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

Puri cannot continue with Mirabehn. She is now coming there. She will go to Nalwadi tomorrow. She has taken Vinoba's permission.

Isudas had got the permission to go to Nalwadi. If he has not gone there, let him go tomorrow. Let him abide by the rules there. Let him learn all the processes of cotton. I have talked to Krishnadas.

Amtulsalaam says she will spend the night today with Kaka. Kaneba has been informed.

Lilavati should not take more than two cups of tea. If she cannot at all manage with *gur*, she may take only the absolutely necessary quantity of sugar.

¹ From the contents; *vide* also Vol. LXXIV, pp. 139 and 141.

She should not engage you or anyone else in talk. She should quietly carry on with her work.

Let her write to me daily in ink and in beautiful handwriting. She must give me full details.

She must go to bed and get up punctually. She must write and send to me daily two stanzas from the *Gita* with their meanings . . .¹

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar.

156. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[Before *July 16, 1941*]²

You cannot return the (present) like this. It is a gift of love. It will always be so. You can pass it on to others.

What is all this you have written? You are stupid and will remain so. Why harbour such thoughts in your mind? What does it matter even if I get annoyed? But since I know you, you may take it that my anger is already gone. You may not reform yourself, old as you have grown !!! But I am reforming myself and shall keep on reforming till I die. Why have any doubt at all? Why do you not listen? There is no question at all of your moving from here. How can you leave what you have built yourself ? You are not going to stay anywhere else at all. I am beginning to believe that whatever is to be done by you will be done only from here. After me some at least will carry on my work. One of them would be of course you. Now drive away all doubt. Pass your examination soon and come and sit in my lap.

BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Sushila Nayyar

¹ The letter is incomplete.

² Presumably written before the addressee appeared first for her M.D. examinations in 1941; *vide* Vol.LXXIV, pp. 70, 166 and 266. The date has been inferred from "Letter to Amrit Kaur" (*ibid*, p.166) which has reference to the addressee having failed in this examination.

157. *SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR*

[Before *October 24, 1941*]¹

Hindi is absolutely good, language perfect and lettering quite nice.

Of course you have access to all my letters and answers. I expect to be able to train you to do the whole of the editing in time. You have a wonderful command over your pen, only the thought formation has to come. To produce the exact thought means exact understanding. It is difficult when one has to interpret another. But it is not beyond you I know. You should begin to throw notes at me. I may reject them all as you see I do Mahadev's.

I want to build a cottage for my convenience rather than yours. You will still sit by me but if there is a room which can be called yours it may yield many uses. You wanted to build me a little hospital. Let this be something like it. About buying when I get the time.

From the original : C.W. 4223. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7859

158. *INTERVIEW TO EVELYN WRENCH*²

[Before *December 9, 1941*]

Sir E. I recently had an hour-and-a-half talk with Mr. Jinnah and heard his point of view. I do not know what following he has, but he reiterated again and again : "Never will Muslims be subservient to Hindu authority. You English and Germans are much closer to each other than Hindus and Muslims." I would like to know what you have to say in regard to this.

¹ From the reference to the construction of a cottage; in his letter to the addressee dated October 24, 1941, Gandhiji writes that the cottage is "nearing completion"; *vide* Vol. LXXV, p. 48.

² According to Evelyn Wrench, Editor of *The Spectator*, the interview took place just before Christmas, 1941, in Gandhiji's Ashram, Sevagram, Wardha. The period, however, has been inferred from the fact that Gandhiji was at Wardha in December 1941 up to the 9th when he left for Bardoli.

Gandhiji . I deny absolutely what Jinnasahib says. The Muslim is as much an Indian as I am and of the same blood. There is no fundamental cleavage between Hindus and Mussalmans. We have lived in the same land as brothers for generations and what has been possible all these years will certainly be possible in the future. With due respect to Jinnasahib, he resorts unconsciously to an untruth when he says what you have just quoted, and speaks as a disappointed man does in order to maintain his view at any cost. In any case, the fear of subservience is quite imaginary. No one can dominate a population of 80,000,000. Can such a number be termed a minority? I personally would resist the subservience even of the Parsis, who are a mere handful, i.e., 1,00,000, because I believe in equality for all and has throughout been the Congress creed. But I admit that Jinnasahib's fear though in fact imaginary is a real thing in his estimation, and therefore he has my sympathy.

Sir E. What about the possibility of a free and equal India becoming a partner in the British Commonwealth in the sense that Canada and Australia are partners?

G . Bitter experience has shown that India cannot be that in the sense that Canada and Australia are. At the moment the British Commonwealth is a Commonwealth of *White* nations. But I go a step further than you. Why only a *British* Commonwealth? Whoever is victor, there should be, after the war, a commonwealth of all nations. The British Commonwealth must give place to this and no one must be excluded. Germany, Italy, Russia, all must come in, not only those who are today Allies of Britain. India will gladly be a member of such a commonwealth.

Sir E . You are indulging in undue optimism. I worked seven years for the All peoples Association in Europe and my experiences there during the last two decades do not lead to hope that the real internationalism is round the corner. Anyhow your and my goal of universal brotherhood is common. Is it thus wise to destroy or abolish what has stood for a Commonwealth of at least some nations when the world is not ready for the ultimate ideal?

G . It is not a question of abolition. It is a question of extending the scope of the British Commonwealth. If Britain wins wholly, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and perhaps even Bolshevik Russia will disappear. If Britain were honest which I dispute she would then embrace all nations on terms of equality.

Sir E . According to the sentiments expressed in the Atlantic Charter?¹

G . What is the Atlantic Charter ? It went down the ocean as soon as it was born ! I do not understand it. And Mr. Amery denies that India is fit for democracy, while Mr. Churchill says the Charter could not apply to India. Force of circumstances will falsify their declarations. Personally I like to believe that all become honest, the millennium is round the corner !

Sir E . I know your views on pacifism. But all the same you won't impede the British war effort?

G . I said I would not embarrass Britain. And so far as civil disobedience is concerned, I have demonstrated that this is so. A non-violent man cannot desire embarrassment. And Government, in using the term "symbolic"² in their recent release of satyagrahis unsought by the satyagrahis have tacitly admitted non-embarrassment. Had Congress wished, it would have been possible to ignite a spark that would have swept right over India and which would certainly have deflected British energy from the war.

Sir E . You want Britain to win, don't you? Cannot you under any circumstances give active support to our war effort?

G . I do not wish disaster to British arms. In saying this I may be said to have modified my original words. But I cannot give active support in the war effort without denying a life-time of practice.

Sir E . Compared with fifteen years ago, has not British opinion moved favourably towards India? There are two powerful sections of public opinion in Great Britain today--one which holds that she should move closer to the U.S.A. and the Dominion with a view to forming a federation between these English-speaking democracies and definitely cut loose from India, which with its alien civilization they say has little in common with the Anglo-Saxons; the other consists of those who believe that the chief glory of the British Commonwealth is that it can admit

¹ A joint declaration was drawn up at a series of meetings on board warships in the North Atlantic in August, 1941 by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the then President of the United States and Winston Churchill the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, stating certain common principles and policies on which the two leaders based their hopes for a better future for humankind after World War II. It condemned the use of force and territorial aggrandizement and defined the right of all peoples to self-determination and self-government. Though it was incorporated by reference in the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, the Atlantic Charter, like many war-time declarations, was characterized more by vague generosity than by any precise commitment. Also *vide* Vol. LXXIV, pp. 244 *fn* and 295.

² *Vide* Vol. LXXV, p. 131 *fn*.

nations of any race, creed or colour to become partners within its orbit. Do you not trust us? Do you not think that we are genuine when we see the difficulties inherent in the different viewpoints of yourself and Mr. Jinnah? Would there not be civil war if we were to withdraw?

G . I believe that a party wishing equality for India does exist in Britain. But it is an insignificant minority, and while I honour and like their opinion I cannot be enthused over it, for I know that those who shape policy and dominate are otherwise inclined. For me, therefore, it is only the Secretary of State who counts. I see no genuine ring in his statement. If he were honest he would not ask for an agreed solution among us as the first step. It is obvious that if Jinnasaheb asks me for things which I cannot give him, he will naturally go to the third party where he can get what he wants, as he did in London during the Round Table Conference¹. The minority pact was there flung on us one fine morning unknown to any one of us. It is one of the most disgraceful chapters in British history. The Secretary of State should realize that the last word is in his hands. Hence it is that I have said you should retire and we shall have a pact in fifteen days. There may be civil war, it is highly probable there will be, but at the end of it there will be peace.

Sir E . At the end of all wars there is peace.

G . Your proposition was wrong. You can only have lasting peace based on justice. We are an unarmed people. Your armies are meant to suppress an armed rebellion and are not for use by us. The Indian troops are mercenaries and would be of no use in the civil war. It is the politically conscious Muslims and Hindus who will fight. They will fight with sticks, staves and soda-water bottles, but they will soon tire, and there will be wise men enough among us to bring about an honourable peace.

Sir E . Are you not assuming too much?

G . I assume nothing. These are daily happenings. There is breaking of each other's heads for a couple of days and then there is peace.

Sir E . But a Hindu cannot dine with a Muslim. Mr. Jinnah says these social barriers matter a good deal.

¹ Of 1931

G . They do not. You inter-dine and inter-marry with Germans and yet you are both saturated with hate for each other.

Sir E . May I take it that you would oppose Pakistan even if it were agreed upon by the Muslims and Britain?

G . No agreement between the British and Muslims can affect me. An agreement between Hindus and muslims alone will affect me.

Sir E . Do you not think that Britain has stood for freedom and democracy – take Canada, Australia, South Africa?

G . You have stood for these things simply for the spoliation of the weaker races. I have lived for twenty years in South Africa and I know the quarrel between you and the Dutch was over the sharing of the spoils and the same is happening elsewhere in Africa, too.

Sir E . But very few are ready for a world Commonwealth. At what moment would you be willing to join a Commonwealth?

G . When Africa, China, Japan are all included. I cannot be subservient anywhere.

Sir E . Are you opposed to defence behind an international group?

G . I would agree to a minimum international police force.

Sir E . What about an air-force?

G . On no account. I look upon air-power for destruction as a terrible crime against humanity.

Sir E . But if you do not agree to an armed force to stop aggression other Hitlers may arise.

G . They will not arise if justice prevails. Hitler is a scourge sent by God to punish men for their iniquities.

Sir E . Take the case of Abyssinia. If there had been an armed international force we could have stopped Mussolini from that conquest.

G . You cannot cure a lesser evil by a greater evil. You might have succeeded in wiping out Italy, but how would that have helped? Britain's success in the exploitation of non-European races raised the ambition of Bismarck and later Mussolini and others.

Sir E . But is not the mentality now passing? I assure you it is in England. Take the case of Iraq to whom we have given independence.

G . I wish I could think that. I do not agree that there is freedom in Iraq today. I do not read current history as you do. Nothing is of a permanent nature. One can only talk of good intentions when the war is over. I would love to see that Iraq at least had real complete

independence after the war.

Sir E. You may call me prejudiced, but Churchill has definitely announced that there will be no acquisition of territory, etc.

G. You are not prejudiced. You have perforce to believe what is told you. I have grave doubts. I mean no ill. Having given up arms, I can mean none. I never think of imaginary evils, however. There is no distrust of men and mankind in me. They will answer before God, so why should I worry? But where my own mission is concerned my thought is active, and I try to wish everyone well in spite of doubts and mistrust. I will suffer the agony if that is to be my lot. But I may not unnerve myself while I can struggle against evil.

Sir E. Try to believe there are more people in great Britain than you imagine in favour of India's inclusion as a free partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. I can give you proof. There is the Labour Party.

G. I believe you are a growing party. All the same I feel you are still insignificant. But you mention Labour Party, which is a dismal failure today. It takes its seat in the House of Lords!

Sir E. After the war would you consider every problem if you felt India was to be free?

G. I have shut my mind against nothing and I am a friend of Great Britain. I always have been. I have no axe to grind. Whatever I do is out of love.

The Spectator, 6-3-1942

159. LETTER TO SURESH SINGH

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C.P.

[1941]¹

BHAI SURESH,

I got your letter. It is good that you have volunteered. I hope you are spinning regularly. Your turn will come after the three

¹ From the reference, presumably to individual satyagraha offered in 1941; *vide* also Vol. LXVIII, p. 424.

batches have gone ahead. I shall prepare a programme for new batches.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : G.N. 8693

160. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

*Sunday [1941]*¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

This chit will go with Mahadev's letter. That is all the time I can spare. I am all right. Kumarappa² is keeping well. Krishnadas's health causes some anxiety. He has fever today. He has passed a little blood. Do not worry. I hope there was no inconvenience on the way. Keep writing to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

161. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[1941]

STUPID DAUGHTER,

How foolish you are ! Where can you go to escape from me? Wherever you go, you will find me. It is very difficult to abandon me.

¹ It appears from the contents that this and the following item belong to the year 1941.

² J.C. Kumarappa

On Sunday you have to sleep near me.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

162. TELEGRAM TO GANGADHAR JOSHI

[1942]¹

GANGADHAR JOSHI
CONGRESS
JHANSI

PLEASE TELL CADRE STRIKE UNJUSTIFIED. DISCONTINUE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

163. TELEGRAM TO M.A. JINNAH

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
BOMBAY,
*August 27, [1944]*²

HOPE YOU HAD MY LETTER AND YOUR PROGRESS CONTINUES.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ In the source this is placed among letters of 1942.

² Gandhiji was at this address in 1944 and in correspondence with the addressee who had been unwell. For the letter dated August 29, which followed this telegram, *vide* Vol.LXXVIII, p.53.

164. LETTER TO KANU R. GANDHI

[After May 1, 1945]¹

CHI. KANAM,

My congratulations on your standing first in the half-yearly examination. And there are indications that you may stand first in my examination, too. Your obstinacy seems to have disappeared. You seem to have become wiser. But I think you are making one mistake. You seem to be resolved to become a learned man even at the cost of your health. True education develops body, intellect and soul in equal measure. Besides, don't you know the great saying 'The body is the primary means for the performance of all dharmas'? If my memory is deceiving me, ask Vinoba about it. For a human being the soul never exists without the body. We can of course conceive of a disembodied soul, but do not, cannot, see one. Hence the great text : "*Neti, neti*". Therefore, take care of your health while studying, even if that means your taking more time to cover the same ground. It will be useless for you to come to me just now. My plans are uncertain. And it is very hot. By all means go to Dharmadev Shastri. Sumi writes to say you would like to do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original : C.W. 9514. Courtesy : Kanam Gandhi

165. A NOTE

[1945]²

Rashtra Bhasha for me means Hindi + Urdu=Hindustani. My advice will be amalgamate the two and follow the larger method, i.e.,

¹ Inferred; *vide* Vol. LXXX, p. 49.

² *Vide* Vol. LXXXI, pp. 332 and 408.

of Hindi and Urdu amalgamation.

From a photostat: G.N. 8043

166. LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR

[1945]¹

CHI. LILI,

Here is the reply. How can you say that you are not getting all the news from here? I am writing. You must not thus accept defeat. You have got to pass. If you get disheartened, it will be a matter of shame for me. You were born to carry out difficult things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9615; also C. W. 6587.
Courtesy: Lilavati P. Asar

167. LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR

Sunday [1945]

CHI. LILAVATI,

I keep hearing that you are working very hard. May God grant you good health. Do not be impatient. You will gradually progress if you work only as much as you can. Do no worry about the mind at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9616; also C.W. 6588.
Courtesy : Lilavati P. Asar

¹ From the contents this and the following letters to the addressee appear to have been written in 1945 when the addressee was studying medicine in Bombay. *Vide* also Gandhiji's latter to her dated June 23, 1947.

168. LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR

[1945]

CHI. LILA,

I have your letter. I have kept you informed every day. You must concentrate only on your studies. I am sending the pen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 9614; also C. W. 6586.
Courtesy : Lilavati P. Asar

169. A NOTE

[1945]¹

We do not want to get allopathic medicines. Vaidyas have far better medicines of the kind. There must be somebody outside the jail. If he is mad maybe he will be released. The doctors cannot be trusted.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushil Nayyar

¹ Placed among letters of 1945

170. MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY¹

[May 16, 1946]

It is my firm conviction that Indians in South Africa must not submit to the latest racial legislation of the Union of South Africa. They have well nigh exhausted all constitutional means of seeking redress. Therefore, they have at their disposal the matchless weapon of satyagraha which was successfully tried for the first time in South Africa. There is no cause therefore for despair. They must vindicate the honour of the nation to which they belong by use of satyagraha, whether they are few or many. They must not selfishly submit to the contemplated segregation nor accept the racial franchise.²

Messages to South African Indian Community from the Leaders of India,
Durban, June 1, 1946

¹ This was sent through Sorabjee Rustomjee, who led the Indian Deputation from South Africa. For the date, *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p. 158, where an extract from the message appears.

² A band of Indians, headed by Dr. Naicker, commenced satyagraha in South Africa against the Segregation Law on June 14, 1946; *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 371-3.

171. TELEGRAM TO DR. DADOO

July 1946

YOUR WIRE¹. HOPE RESISTERS WILL REMAIN FIRM TO THE END.
EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE THIS END.

GANDHI

South Africa's Freedom Struggle, p.318

172. LETTER TO PUSHPA K. DESAI

[1946]²

CHI. PUSHPA,

I have your letter. If you can see Father's love you will also see Mother's. This needs patience and purity. Purity of the heart can be judged through one's work only.

If you have made up your mind you may get your hair cut by Bhansalibhai. All I can say is that the decision has to be taken after careful thought.

You should continue to write to Father and Mother. Keep yourself engaged in all Ashram activities. Learn Urdu and Hindi well. Write both scripts in a beautiful hand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9264

¹ Which read : "Consider police action and arrest first victory. Spirit of resisters excellent. Their non-violent behaviour under extreme provocation and assaults magnificent. Struggle continues. More and more volunteers will go into action according to plan. We shall resist."

² From the contents

173. A NOTE

[1946]¹

You should study the section and you will perceive the viciousness of it. You should remember what Cripps had said plainly. He first said² to you. He said he had left a loophole for getting out of the section.

Evidently now he faces bad weather and succumbs. He did likewise when he came as Churchill's ambassador. It is a pity.

From a copy : Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

174. A NOTE

[1946]

According to them the group section (1) makes it compulsory for the member states assigned to the section to take part in constitution-making which gives the whip-hand to the majority Province (2) makes it obligatory to be in the section for two years and then to opt out if it secures a majority.

If they do not mean to compel any one province or group they must recognize its liberty to abstain from the commencement without affecting the working of the C. A. and the production of a constitution binding on the participants.

From a copy : Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ This and the following three notes were evidently written in 1946 when the Cabinet Mission came to India and Sir Stafford Cripps held discussions with Gandhiji from April to June.

² The word following this is illegible in the source.

175. A NOTE

[1946]

Inkstand. About Sir Stafford¹ why need he bother about [coming] to see me. I can meet him at Lawrence's². But if he insists on coming he can come after 5 p.m. here. If it suits them that is the best thing. Let us not stand on ceremony. We do whatever is best for the cause. I am here only for that purpose, nothing else.

From a copy: Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

176. A NOTE

[1946]

I have raised identical objections. And they are all good. The Congress must give up the Cabinet, if they don't give in. Only I have left the fast to Badshah Khan. You have done well. Now I don't yield except to reason.

From a copy : Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

177. NOTE TO HORACE ALEXANDER

[1946]³

Sudhir is unnecessarily nervous. As I know J[awaharlal] he won't like this indirect approach. My speaking would be on a different plan. Then too I am not going to thrust myself on his attention. Such is my reaction. You may show this to S[udhir] and

¹ Sir Stafford Cripps

² Lord Pethick-Lawrence, member of the British Cabinet Mission

³ From the contents; *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p. 361.

act as you think best.

From a copy : Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

178. NOTE TO SUDHIR GHOSH

[*January-February 1947*]¹

My love to Shanti. You must come to a joint correct decision.

From a copy: Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

179. TELEGRAM TO J. BALSARIA

Express

[On or before *April 26, 1947*]²

J. BALSARIA
PANCHGANI

SEE CHAMPABEHN MEHTA SATISHKUNJ AND ARRANGE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The note is presumably regarding the addressee's acceptance of his appointment as Public Relations Officer at the Indian High Commission in London; *vide* Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 352 and 463.

² *Vide* the following item.

180. TELEGRAM TO CHAMPABEHN MEHTA

Express II

[On or before April 26, 1947]¹

RECEIVED LETTER. WIRED J. BALSARIA.

BAPU

CHAMPABEHN MEHTA
SATISH KUNJ
PANCHGANI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

181. LETTER TO ANDREW A. FREEMAN

VALMIKI MANDIR,
READING ROAD,
NEW DELHI
May 6, 1947

DEAR FREEMAN,

I had your letter of the 28th April². I hope there are no ill effects left of the operation you had gone through. Is it not a mad idea to start a spinning society in America? Mad or wise, why do you want to connect my name with it. Hand-spinning has its own special universal function.

If I were you I would not mix up my teachings with hand-spinning.

¹ From letter to the addressee; *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 362.

² In which the addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to use his name for the Gandhi Spinning Society of the United States and also for the spinning-wheel which was to be known as the 'Gandhi Spinning-Wheel' to be manufactured in the United States.

Your third object is to cultivate a friendly understanding between Americans and Indians. I claim that understanding not only with Indians but with the whole world is implied in voluntary spinning. And, if America is really interested in the hand-spinning-wheel it can beat all its previous records for inventive genius.

Therefore I would say do not belittle a great thing by mixing it up with my name.

In your exposition you will have a perfect right to use my name freely and say quite correctly that you owe your enthusiasm for hand-spinning to mine in the same connection in India. And, of course, I shall welcome all the hand-spun yarn that you can send to India. Only let me present you with a joke that will lie behind your sending a parcel of hand-spun yarn all the way to India for weaving. The postal charges for sending hand-spun yarn from America would be perhaps 50 times the value of the cotton used in hand-spinning. But America being a mammon-worshipping country you can afford such expensive jokes.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

ANDREW A. FREEMAN, ESQ.,
325 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

From a copy: Pyarelal papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

182. TELEGRAM TO P.S. SANE¹

May 11, 1947

SANE GURUJI
PANDHARPUR

READ YOUR LETTER OF . . .² EARLY MORNING. I LIKED IT WELL.
LATER READ MESSAGE. YOU WERE BREAKING FAST OWING
TRUSTEES ACTION. THANK GOD ENABLING YOU FULFIL YOUR VOW.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

183. LETTER TO CHAKRAYYA

SODEPUR,
May 12, 1947

CHI. CHAKRAYYA³,

Lilavatibehn writes that you have been admitted to hospital.
How nice that Lilavatibehn is looking after you! Have patience.
What God wills will come to pass. Do not have any worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and
Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Popularly known as Sane Guruji, the addressee went on a fast unto death on May 1 to secure entry of Harijans into the Vithoba Temple at Pandharpur (*vide* also Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 391 and 401). He gave up the fast on May 10, after an assurance that the temple would be opened to Harijans.

² Illegible in the source

³ A Harijan from Andhra who had joined the Sevagram Ashram in 1935 and become an expert craftsman. He was sent to Bombay for treatment of what was later diagnosed as brain tumour.

184. A LETTER

[After May 15, 1947]¹

DEAR FRIEND,

Whenever I have visited Burma, I have felt more and more attracted to the land and its people because of their close connection with India from which Burma took the gospel of Gautama Buddha who knew no caste and stood for perfect toleration. May your progress to complete independence be not marred by bloodshed as unfortunately happens to be our lot just now . I hope and pray it will be shortlived.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has kindly forwarded your letter of 15th May.

From a photostat: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

185. LETTER TO PIERRE MARTIN

PATNA,
May 16, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have got your letter of 17th April addressed to Miss Owen². I would advise you not to come to India in the expectation of seeing me and learning from me the philosophy of non-violence. I am not a reader of books. I am a doer. Probably by being in contact with my daily life you will learn nothing unless you are a man of non-violence yourself. And if you are, what need can there be in watching me doing something hour to hour? Another word for non-

¹ From the date of Burma's achieving independence and the last sentence in the letter; *vide* also Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 381 and 390.

² Gladys Owen, a Quaker educationist and teacher

violence is unselfish work, which one can practise wherever one is. I would, therefore, ask you to be satisfied with doing loving work from day to day.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

PIERRE MARTIN, ESQ.
24 RUE DU BOIS MERRAIN
CHARTRES (EURE ET LOIR)
FRANCE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

186. *LETTER TO FRANCESCA STANDENATH*¹

PATNA,
May 16, 1947

CHI. SAVITRI²,

I have your letter of 23rd February³ received by me only this month. I was delighted to see your handwriting. I never expected that I should hear from you. I had almost given you up for dead in the frightful bloodbath through which Europe has gone. As your letter came as an agreeable surprise I had it copied and distributed among friends who knew you at the Ashram. If you receive this letter I would like you to continue writing and telling me all about the

¹ It appears Gandhiji wrote this letter having forgotten that he had already replied to the addressee's letter dated January 23; *vide* Suppl. Vol. IV, p. 400. It is also likely that thinking his earlier letter had miscarried Gandhiji sent a fresh letter.

² This is in the Devanagari script. 'Savitri' was the Indian name given to the addressee by Gandhiji.

³ The addressee had sent another copy of the letter dated January 23 after striking out January and substituting it with 'February'.

condition of Austria and how you fared during that stormy period. What is the professor doing?

I have been wandering recently on foot in the villages of Bengal. Now I am in Bihar and shall presently be in Delhi.

Love to you both.

BAPU

FRANCESCA STANDENATH
GRAZ IN STYRIA
TRANTMANDORFGOSSET No.1

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

187. LETTER TO KULARANJAN MUKHERJEE

PATNA,
May 17, 1947

DEAR KULARANJAN,

I am sorry and ashamed to report to you that I lacked the courage to risk Manubehn's life even though the diagnosis might be incorrect or proper remedy not applied. Although you had assured me that there was no fear of appendicitis I was uncertain myself. So in Patna I invited medical opinion. Four doctors were emphatic that it was a decided case of inflammation of the appendix and that it was a case which needed quick operation, if all danger was to be avoided. In the face of this opinion I at once yielded and the operation¹ was performed the very day we reached Patna, i.e., 15th May. The patient is doing well. I write this in order to tell you that all the nature-cure physicians are half-baked men. That they have success often to their credit is not due to their knowledge or ability, but is largely due to the healing power of Nature herself, when she is left alone.

¹ *Vide* also Vol. LXXXVII, p. 475.

But for a nature-cure physician to make that claim he has surely to have complete knowledge of anatomy and physiology. If he has not that he must cease to call himself a physician and simply content himself with spreading the knowledge that every man is his own doctor if he will have Nature to do her work. He can spread accurate knowledge of the laws of hygiene and sanitation. This is for you to ponder over and if possible to correct yourself.

Please remind Bhagirathy Kanodia about your phone.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. KULARANJAN MUKHERJEE
114-2B & 2C HAZRA ROAD
KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

188. *LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR*

PATNA,
May 18, 1947

CHI. LILI,

I received your letter only today and I have sat down to answer it after the evening prayer.

I am very happy that you are looking after Chakrayya. Do not move from there if you cannot leave him. God will only bring you good thereby. Your true learning lies in your work of service. It does not matter if you have to spend one more year. In my view, the experience you are gaining is invaluable. If possible, try to find out why his health has deteriorated so much.

The story of Sushila is very painful. You have to learn a lot from it. You are not going to marry at all. You are wedded to service and your studies. That is true marriage. Did you not come to me with the idea of such a marriage? That was not a false marriage. You

have contracted true marriage. Remain faithful to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

189. TELEGRAM TO CHIEF MINISTER, TRIPURA

May 22, 1947

CHIEF MINISTER
AGARTALA
TRIPURA

REGRET HEAR SAD NEWS¹. PLEASE CONVEY MY SYMPATHY TO FAMILY MEMBERS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

190. LETTER TO JULIAN HUXLEY²

May 25, 1947

DEAR DR. JULIAN HUXLEY,

As I am constantly on the move, I never get my post in time. But for your letter to Pandit Nehru in which you referred to your

¹ Of the death of the ruler of Tripura on May 18, 1947

² The portion in the last paragraph of this letter relating to rights and duties has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 100, and Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 346-7.

letter to me, I might have missed your letter. But I see that you have given your addressees ample time to enable them to give their replies. I am writing this in a moving train. It will be posted tomorrow when I reach Delhi.

I am afraid I can't give you anything approaching your minimum. That I have no time for the effort is true enough. But what is truer is that I am a poor reader of literature past or present, much as I should like to read some of its gems. Living a stormy life since my early youth I had no leisure to do the necessary reading.

I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be usurpation hardly worth fighting for. I wonder if it is too late to revise the idea of defining the rights of man apart from his duty.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

191. LETTER TO KAREL AND HARRIET HUJER¹

NEW DELHI,
May 28, 1947

DEAR KAREL & HARRIET,

I have your touching letter and I write this only to tell you that I am still in the land of the living and read your letter with much joy.

¹ An extract from this is reproduced in Vol. LXXXVIII, p.22.

I am the same as when you saw me except that my faith burns if possible brighter than before.

MR. KAREL HUJER
UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA
CHATTANOOGA, TENN., USA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

192. LETTER TO PIR MAQDOOMSHAH BANORI

[After *June 14, 1947*]¹

BHAI PIR MAQDOOMSHAH SAHEB,

Mridulabehn gave me your letter. I am sorry to know what you say about the Khaksars.² It is bad if it is true. I am making enquiries of the Bihar Government. I shall do what I can. Be calm.

Mridulabehn has gone to Ahmedabad.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ This was in reply to addressee's letter date June 14, 1947.

² The reference is to the opening of fire by the police on Khaksars who in violation of the order banning processions, etc., had taken out a procession which is resulted in violence.

193. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA

[After June 14, 1947]¹

BHAI SHRI BABU,

Pir Maqdoom Shah has written about the Khaksars². I enclose the letter. What are the facts?

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

194. LETTER TO DAMODAR

NEW DELHI,
June 19, 1947

CHI. DAMODAR,

I have your letter. You must recover fully.

What is there in your brother's inter-caste marriage to ask for my blessings? For a marriage of this nature, a person like you should not ask for anyone's blessings.

Most marriages take place for pleasure, by no means for preservation of dharma. It should be enough that they are performed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

^{1 & 2} *Vide* the preceding item; both letters are written on the same sheet of paper.

195. LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR

NEW DELHI,
June 23, 1947

CHI. LILI,

I have your long letter. It is very good that all that effort of yours has borne fruit. Then why complain? It is good if you listen to Shanti Kumar. He gives money. What more should we expect after that?

One thing is certain that you do not have to study if you have to put up with insults. Of course one must learn to know when one is insulted and when one is not insulted.

You are calm at the moment. Remain calm thus and study well and pass the examination.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

196. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

ON THE TRAIN,
June 30, 1947

CHI. MRIDU,

Regarding H[indus]. M[uslims]

1. Keep seeing the Leaguers. If they want to show you anything, go and see it, note down what you see and take their signatures on your notings.
- 2.A. They are free to do picketing on their own if they wish. They must not ask or expect the Government to lend them support.
- B. If anyone vacates his land or house, the property will be taken

over by the Government. If he wishes to retain the possession of the land or the house, he cannot expect to get anything from the Government. He can ask for the damages to the house if any.

- C. Recruitment of Muslims in the Police cannot be demanded. Demand can always be made for good, impartial Police.
- D. The culprits should be brought to book. Mathura Singh must be arrested. If he is not arrested, it will show the bankruptcy of the Government.
- E. Wherever riots have taken place, the Hindus must pay a fine voluntarily or compulsorily.
- F. Repairs in the villages should mean that ideal sanitary conditions will prevail in the villages and streets will be clean without dirt and dust; villagers and school children should do this work on voluntary basis. There should be adequate provision for water.
- G. The Government as well as the people should give up their dependence on the Police. Local Hindus should take up the responsibility. And the Government should pass a legislation that wherever there is destruction of Muslim life and property, the Hindus must pay the damages.
- H. There should be provision for clean water everywhere.
- I. Gen. Shah Nawaz should be appointed advisor and his recommendations should be accepted as far as possible.

MISCELLANEOUS

Ansari was to meet me. I regret he has not done so.

Mahant Bhagwan Das should resign.

It is right to demand surety from confirmed criminals.

It is desirable that relief centres should be controlled by Government. But others cannot be forbidden. Those who are being given help by way of food, etc., should contribute their utmost to work.

Both the Muslim ministers should give their full co-operation in this and they should be included in all negotiations.

Help should be sought from all political parties. There should be no party politics in such matters.

The places where destruction has taken place should be shown in the presence of the Panch, and should be photographed wherever possible and the rubble must be cleared at once.

You may give this to the Ministers after having it translated into Hindi.

You should talk in Hindi with Hindi-knowing persons. This work must be carried out only in Hindi. Both the scripts should be used. Even if you are entertaining different ideas in the matter, you must follow my ideas and method of working. Then only will you bring credit to it and to yourself and help me in the task.

You are keeping very late hours at night. That is not service but attachment.

REGARDING THE POLICE

Only that much should be done about which Jayaprakash is convinced. I do not want two contradictory voices -- mine and his. The actual work has to be done by him. I am in no doubt whatever about the absolute correctness of my policy.

You should meet the prisoners if that is allowed. The Premier should let you meet them freely. You should not even think that you would work or benefit on behalf of the Socialist or any other party. If the politicians take advantage of the situation, it is the venomous legacy of the British practice, a volunteer has no party.

Let the police release the prisoners as far as possible. The cases of those who have indulged in murders will have to be considered. It is the duty of the Police to remain faithful to the present Government. The present Government should be regarded as popular Government. The question of capital and labour must not be allowed to be raised. That problem must be solved. It is possible to solve it. The Police should keep itself aloof from it. Jayaprakash must fully play his role in this and other matters. He has the spirit of self-sacrifice. He has intelligence. He is brave and courageous. I have a very high opinion of him. I do not want him to do anything for the sake of his position but for the sake of people. Many things about the Socialist Party can find wide acceptance. I believe that the policy by which he has become like a God to the people cannot work today. If he agrees to what I am saying, let him talk in the language

of peace and make a public announcement of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11261. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

197. *LETTER TO MOHAMMED HUSAIN KHAN*

[After *July 5, 1947*]¹

I have your two letters. As I have intimated to you, I sent your letter, written in English, to the Bihar Government the moment it came. I shall write to you when I get the reply. If it is found necessary to see you, I shall trouble you.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

198. *LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR*

NEW DELHI,
July 10, 1947

CHI. LILA,

I have read your letter to Manu. You are not stopping your foolishness. Why should you feel remorse about knowing? Why should one remember words of flattery? How many are there as fortunate as you? You must complete your studies properly. We can analyse later whether or not there has been any benefit.

I am doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated July 5, 1947.

199. *LETTER TO MOHAMMED HUSAIN KHAN*

NEW DELHI,
July 12, 1947

I have your letter. It is not good. Let us go by convention. The reply I sent is from minister Ansari Saheb of the Bihar Government. If there is any error in it, it should be pointed out. In any case how can I compel him?

I do not think it would be appropriate to write to Pandit Jawaharlal.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

200. *LETTER TO MOHAMMED HUSAIN KHAN*

HARIJAN COLONY,
July 17, 1947

BHAI SAHEB,

I have your letter. What need for me to argue? Enclosed is a copy of the Prime Minister's letter. In view of the letter I can only say that you may file a suit against him. I cannot pass a judgment. I have done whatever I could.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

201. LETTER TO BARBARA HARTLAND

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
July 22, 1947

MY DEAR BARBARA,

I have your letter¹, which is so sweet. I know you are doing excellent work there and I know too that you will do so wherever you are. But you know that when you feel the call from India, work awaits you always.

Hope you are keeping perfectly fit there.

Love.

BAPU

MISS BARBARA HARTLAND
WARREN'S ACRE
NUTIEY (NEAR UCKFIELD)
SUSSEX

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

202. LETTER TO SUJATA DEVI

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
July 22, 1947

MY DEAR SUJATA,

I have your letter of 7th instant. I hope you are quite well.

It is not my letter which will fetch you a single rupee, but your work, if it is substantial, will fetch you all you want. You can show this letter to whomsoever you like. But be sure that you convince

¹ In which the addressee had written. "If you have any special work for me to do please let me know and I shall throw all my energy into it."

your host of the solid character of the work you are doing.

Love.

Yours,

BAPU

SHRIMATI SUJATA DEVI
5 NAFAR KUNDU ROAD
KALIGHAT
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

203. LETTER TO NRIPENDRA NATH BOSE

BHANGI COLONY,

NEW DELHI,

July 22, 1947

MY DEAR NRIPEN,

With reference to your letter¹ of 13th instant. I have been in constant correspondence with Premier Bardoloi. He telegraphed to me as to where to send paddy and I referred him to you. He must have corresponded with you. If not, please do so immediately. I hope there will be no hitch. I had another letter bearing your signature regarding maltreatment of Harijans. You will please keep me informed as to what happens. I referred to the incident vaguely in one of my evening speeches, which you may have noticed. I hope there is no exaggeration in the statement circulated by the Relief Committee.

Yours,

BAPU

DR. NRIPENDRA NATH BOSE
TIPPERA DISTT. RELIEF RESCUE &
REHABILITATION COMMITTEE
COMILLA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ In which the addressee had sought Gandhiji's help in the procurement of paddy from Assam for starting the scheme of paddy-husking for relief work in Noakhali and Tippera

204. LETTER TO GERALD J. ROCK

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
July 25, 1947

DEAR MR. ROCK,

What you ask for is essentially American. I must confess my ignorance of "La Prensa" and in any case I do not feel inclined to lend myself to self-advertisement or the advertisement of a newspaper or an institution. I have come to the conclusion that men and things must be judged on their own merits and not on certificates of merit, however well-earned they may be.

When I went to London as a lad, I was brought up to think that I must procure certificates about all kinds of things and I had some. On my way back, I tore all the certificates I had had from friends about various things I had done or had not done and consigned them to the sea.

Yours sincerely,

GERALD J. ROCK, ESQ.
GENERAL MANAGER FOR D. E. INDIA
UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
MUBARAK MANZIL
1ST FLOOR, APOLLO STREET
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

205. A LETTER

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
July 25, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. However, I am very sorry I am not able just now to answer questions such as you have asked. Please excuse. I am, of course, hoping that the French nation will put no obstacle whatsoever in the way of Indians in the French possessions in India merging in the Indian Union.

M.
GRAND HOTEL
OLD DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

206. LETTER TO LILAVATI P. ASAR

PATNA,
August 8, 1947

CHI. LILI,

I received your letter yesterday on the train. I arrived here this morning. I shall be off to Calcutta in the evening. You seem to be facing many hardships. I have left Sushila at the Wah camp. She will be free after the 17th. You will be really free from anxiety when Dwarkadas has fully recovered. You are in the situation of a person under heavy debts for whom a little additional debt makes no difference.

Your ears will have been completely cured by now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

207. LETTER TO R. BAZIN

KHADI PRATISHTHAN,
SODEPUR,
August 12, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your original letter in French and the delicate consideration in sending me an accurate translation of the letter.

I appreciate the measures that are being taken to entrust the responsibilities of administration to the representatives of the population of Chandernagore. As to the fears expressed by you, you may depend upon my doing the very best I can to prevent them.

As for my going to Chandernagore, I know the distance is not great. Unfortunately for me, it is very difficult to leave Calcutta before the 15th instant, much as I would like to respond to your request.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

MOUS R. BAZIN
ADMINISTRATOR
CHANDERNAGORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

208. LETTER TO NELLIE SEN GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN,
SODEPUR,
CALCUTTA,
August 13, 1947

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You will have seen that I spoke on Monday about the Chittagong affliction. Wires were received yesterday and

now I have your letter. I have spoken to several people here including the present Mayor, ex-Mayor Usman Saheb and the Prime Minister of West Bengal. You may depend upon my doing all I can, short of going to Chittagong, which too I would have gladly done were not my presence required here.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. NELLIE SEN GUPTA
JOMALKHAN
CHITTAGONG

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

209. LETTER TO NANDLAL MEHTA

CALCUTTA,
August 19, 1947

CHI. NANDLAL,

Your letter and the watch were received well in time.

What you have done is like caparisoning a donkey in gold. I was shocked and wondered if it was of gold. Shaheed Saheb was sitting with me. He opened the watch and discovered it was only gilded. Still I did not like it. I need only ordinary things. This watch cannot even take a khadi string. It will need a silken string.

And because there is no radium on the dial, I shall need a torch or something at night. Of course it is not to be expected that it will have an alarm.

This does not mean that you should get a new one. Of course, if a watch with radium and alarm was available, I would surely exchange. But even that for how long? Our days are now numbered. We must be resigned to whatever we get. If something improper is presented, we must put it aside. But I am digressing.

The watch seems to be keeping accurate time. How is it that Urmila does not come to lend her shoulder? Let her study a lot. But she should not fall prey to the present day business. You must have understood what I am hinting at.

The fulfilment of your desire is difficult. I can live up to 125 years if I can become detached. I get angry with myself. Who belongs to me?

Blessings to you three from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Hindustan

210. LETTER TO J. WOLFF

CALCUTTA,
August 21, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your cablegram preceding your letter. To your cablegram I sent the following reply: "WOLFF POST RESTANTE JERUSALEM. AM HELPLESS. GANDHI".

You are impatient. Non-violence is never impatient. Impatience betrays lack of faith and understanding. Go on doing your duty to the full and leave the rest to God.

J. WOLFF, ESQ.
POST RESTANTE
JERUSALEM

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

211. TELEGRAM TO DR. CHALAPATHI RAO

[On or after *August 26, 1947*]¹

SORRY. TELL SATHSASTRI HIS FAST UNWARRANTED. HE SHOULD BREAK IT AND LIVE TO SERVE.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

212. LETTER TO HARJIVAN KOTAK

KASHMIR,
[*August, 1947*]²

CHI. HARJIVAN,

I have received your resignation. It is all right if you have sent it after due thought. But I sense anger in your language. The Charkha Sangh shall think about management when you have gone bankrupt. I too have not thought about removing you from the Sangh. I have thought about freeing you from Kashmir though. But the Sangh has given no thought to it. Hence, I am once again drawing your attention to your duty. Let me know what needs to be done.

I shall think about the shares. You must send the . . .³ if possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of August 26, 1947 which read: "Sathsastri fasting seventeenth day. Condition serious causing anxiety. Pray guide him. He would see you after recovery."

² Gandhiji had visited Kashmir only once, in August 1947.

³ A few words here in the original are not intelligible.

213. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

[After September 1, 1947]¹

CHI. MAGANBHAI,

Read this. My morning was spent in reading the enclosed. There is no mention of Karnataka. Which editor wrote it? I think there is some mistake about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

214. TALK WITH P.C. JOSHI

[After September 9, 1947]²

Answering Shri P.C. Joshi³, Gandhiji said:

First of all I want you not to report our conversation in any paper. Not that I have anything to conceal, but it will not help the cause. The situation for me is baffling. I do not remember an occasion in my life – and it has been a life full of struggle—when I have felt baffled as I am doing today. It is a matter of shame for us that the Mussalmans in the Union should feel downcast. Here there should be no room for a single person to feel downcast. Is it so today? No. Only today I heard that Dr. Kitchlew⁴ has had to leave his home. It is a frightful thing that he cannot stay in his own house and has to go to Kashmir. I wholly endorse your remark that no one

¹ This was in reply to the editor's letter dated September 1, 1947

² Gandhiji arrived in Delhi, where the interview took place on September 9, 1947.

³ General Secretary, the Communist Party of India

⁴ Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew

in the Union can afford to say that we are doing this by way of retaliation, and that too of a savage type. We must not degrade ourselves by following the ways of Pakistan. Somehow or other I have never felt so resourceless as I am doing today. You say mobilize all the democratic forces and give them the marching orders. But I feel like a General without an army. To whom am I to give orders?

JOSHI . It is not true. The General has no confidence in himself. He is not calling the army. Calcutta was a hundred times worse than Delhi.

GANDHIJI . You do not know the story of Calcutta. There it looked literally like overnight conversion. It would not have happened but for the incident that night. You know the details of the attack on me. They saw my behaviour with their own eyes. That turned the wave. The Muslim mind was ready. The trading mind was tired of strife and the mischievous elements saw that whatever they did was a misfire. They must desist.

It was like the overnight conversion of the European mind in South Africa. I was lynched. I might have been killed but for the resourcefulness of the European Superintendent of Police. When the whole thing including my interview appeared in the press the next morning, the Europeans felt ashamed and the atmosphere changed.¹ If some such thing happened here my mission would succeed. But I am afraid it will not happen.

JOSHI . No. They have learnt the lesson. They want the old man to quit and then have a second round.

GANDHIJI . Yes. I know that. That is why I have pledged myself to do or die in Delhi.

Joshi: You have made the nation. You must take them on. Give the call.

Gandhiji: I have made them and I have unmade them. I have not mastered your technique. I have not got that amazing self-assurance and I am not sorry for it. I simply say take me for what I am worth.

I have no enemies. Therefore the Communists too in spite of all their differences with me come to me. They came in Noakhali too.

¹ *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 154-66.

I had given them five minutes. But I took to them and gave them an hour and asked them to come again. I know the stuff you are made of. Most of you are young men. I shall pick from you what I can.

JOSHI. Do not say that.

GANDHIJI. I mean what I say. I am biding my time. I am very patient. My patience is being taxed to the utmost. Keep in touch with me. Kumaramangalam sees me often. So does Habib, Dr. Mahmud's son. He is a fine young man. He never puts his parents in an awkward position, never comes in their way, but goes on with his work. And he is so brave. I keep myself in touch with all who come to me. I know you have some fine stuff amongst your ranks. If you had just riff-faff who have their own axes to bring, you cannot lead such a party.

From draft notes: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

215. LETTER TO RANGANATH PRADHAN

[After *September 26, 1947*]¹

ASSISTANT DEWAN SAHEB,

Your letter of 26th September arrived here yesterday from the *Navajivan* Office. I am not in a position to give my views about *lathi* training. You may consult Sardar Patel. It is he who is in charge of the affairs dealing with the rulers and the subjects.

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ This is a reply to a letter dated September 26, 1947 from Ranganath Pradhan, Narsingpur Durbār.

216. LETTER TO SYED MAHMUD HAD

[September 27, 1947]¹

BHAI SYED MAHMUD HAD,

Your letter has been redirected to me by the *Navajivan* Office. It is not necessary to publish it. I had said enough about it at Calcutta.

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

217. A NOTE

October 21, 1947

This is top heavy. Direct election appears to be cumbersome and expensive.

It is a paper programme not workable.

The last section is scrappy. It is an inflamed appendix fit only to be removed.

The whole is too vast for my grasp. I am sorry.

M.K.G.

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The letter is written on a sheet of paper on which this date is scribbled.

218. LETTER TO DOROTHY HOGG¹

BIRLA HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
October 22, 1947

MY DEAR DOROTHY,

I have your comforting letter. How nice it would be if your dream that "I have little doubt that India has touched bottom only to rise to immense heights" becomes materialized during the present generation. The cross of which Mahadev wrote² to you years ago whilst he was yet alive was nothing compared to the cross that presses one today.

All the three points that are mentioned are good. How very few people would confirm to them. You are right – love and prayer are the need of the hour. I would add fasting after prayer.

At the time of writing this Horace is not here. He is in Lahore. He told me when he left a few days ago that he would return within a fortnight. He leads a life of selfless service.

Love to you all.

BAPU

MISS DOROTHY HOGG
144, OAK TREE LANE
SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM 29

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Only one sentence of this is reproduced in Vol. LXXXIX, p.383.

² In 1941, Mahadev Desai had, *inter alia*, written to the addressee: "You have a terrible cross to bear—not only that of bombing, homelessness and starvation, but of making ignorant people understand that we in India are friends, and not enemies. It is a frightfully difficult task, I know, but you who know and understand Bapuji so well can cope with it."

219. LETTER TO E. HEWITT

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
October 26, 1947

DEAR CAPT. HEWITT,

I thank you very much for your considerate letter of 23rd instant making a free offer of your stock of blankets which may be condemned for reissue, but not unacceptable for purposes of protection. I am sending to a friend in Bombay the authority you have enclosed for use.

CAPT. E. HEWITT
DIVISIONAL SEA TRANSPORT OFFICER
SEA TRANSPORT HEADQUARTERS
NAVAL HEADQUARTERS
NEW DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

220. LETTER TO MOHAN SINGH

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

BHAI MOHAN SINGHJI,

I have your letter with two enclosures. I have read the pamphlets hurriedly but I do not like them in English. It is not your or my mother tongue. I write in English with difficulty and never know authoritatively that it is idiomatically correct. I hope you are aware that the masses have no knowledge of English. As a language, it is understood only by an insignificant minority. I therefore suggest your writing in Hindustani either in Nagari character or Urdu, preferably in both.

As to blessings, I told you I think quite clearly that every good

work carries its own blessings. Therefore, I have repeatedly made it clear blessings of the mightiest are superfluous for a good enterprise and when the enterprise is bad, underserved blessings become a curse.

I hope that your organization¹ is open to non-Hindus including Muslims as it is open to Hindus and Sikhs.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SENAPATI MOHAN SINGH
MAJITHA HOUSE
AMRITSAR

From a copy: Pyarelal papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

221. *LETTER TO H.C. DASAPPA*

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

CHI. DASAPPA,

I have your letter. I am glad that Yashodhara is not going to forsake her post, no matter where your headquarters are.

The second paragraph of your letter staggers me. If you are really a responsible Government you have every right to interfere with the Civil List which seems to me to be monstrous. Nor should the revision of pay of officers have been bequeathed to you when responsible Government was imminent. However, it makes no difference though I recognize that your difficult position, as it is in every case, is made much more difficult by the intrigues you refer to.

¹ The Desh Sewak Sena which was formed in Amritsar on October 21.

If you all remain at the work unselfishly and never for power, that itself is a blessing. Any other is superfluous. If the condition I have just mentioned is not satisfied then any blessing received from outside is a curse. Therefore, rest on your oars.

Love to you all.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Your second letter arrived after this was dictated. I would now have to go to Mysore. I dare not. I have to 'do or die' here. I am tied up in a knot. Will it ever be untied? God knows. Please share this with Reddy.

BAPU

SHRI H.C. DASAPPA
"CRESCENT HOUSE"
BANGLORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

222. *LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN*¹

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 1, 1947

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN,

Chhaganlal has redirected your letter of 15th ultimo to my address at New Delhi where I am fixed up to 'do or die'.

Usually your letters are models of accurate thinking. The one before me is not. You talk of my "decision to live 125 years". I never could make any such foolish and impossible decision. It is beyond the capacity of a human being. He can only wish. Again I never

¹ The second paragraph of this letter is reproduced in Vol. LXXXIX, p. 449.

expressed an unconditional wish, nor did I, so far as I remember, advise you to entertain any such unconditional wish.¹ I think if you re-read my letter you will find that my wish was conditional upon a continuous act of service of mankind. If that act fails me, as it seems to be failing in India, I must not only cease to wish to attain that age but should wish the contrary, as I am doing now.

More when you come to India and if I am alive when you do. The rest of your letter is full of inaccurate information.

As to the paragraph on different scripts, I feel that you have to be in India in order to understand the intricacies of the problem. I am quite clear that for generations to come the Roman script has no chance of having a foothold in India on a national scale.

Dr. Mrs. Besant undoubtedly contributed to the cause of freedom of India.

The only way you can get any information about Darjeeling is by writing to the Prime Minister of West Bengal, in which Darjeeling is included. There is no position analogous to the Town Clerk in South Africa, but I need not worry you about the intricacies of the Indian system. If you will tell me what you wish to know about Darjeeling, I might be able to help you more quickly than anyone else.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

MISS SONJA SCHLESIN
P.O. Box 2284
JOHANNESBURG

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Vol. LXXXIX, *fn.* 2.

223. LETTER TO K.C. NEOGY

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 8, 1947

DEAR NEOGY,

I am sorry that we have not met after your appointment as Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation.

You will excuse me if I draw you attention to the complaints that have come under my notice. One of them is that people have no ready access to you and when they do succeed in getting an audience of a few moments, they are summarily dismissed with a rebuff. What they expect is a patient hearing. Not all the refugees belong to the poor class. Some of them are professional men. But I contend that rich and poor, all alike, are entitled to perfect courtesy and patient hearing from their Ministers. These refugees are ill-covered, ill-fed, in some cases wander about aimlessly, even going without food. I am not giving you all the numerous complaints that have been daily pouring into my ears. I have ventured simply to give you a few samples from which you may infer the rest. If there is, in your opinion, nothing whatsoever in these complaints you will dismiss the letter from your consideration, forgiving me at the same time for intruding upon your valuable time. I know you have been called to an office which must occupy all your attention.

Yours sincerely,
M.K.GANDHI

SHRI K.C.NEOGY
NO.5 HASTINGS ROAD
NEW DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

224. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

NEW DELHI,
November 15, 1947

CHI. MATHURADAS,

It is with great difficulty that I am dictating this letter when it is time for my afternoon sleep. I am lying in the sun with a mud-pack. It feels very nice to be in the sun.

I cannot be convinced that no improvement in your health is possible now.

I have no faith in the prognosis of doctors. I would rather that regardless of what they say you had faith in God and let things happen as they would. In your condition, instead of reading newspapers, should you not read books? Read Sanskrit or Gujarati. There are beautiful translations of Sanskrit books in Gujarati. Whatever occurs to you while reading, you can dictate. Why don't you engage a person who would take dictation and read out what you wish to hear? Waccha had almost gone blind but till the last moment he had his favourite books read out to him. Several such instances can be cited.

I am aware that I cannot see truth if I am impatient. It means nothing that I am free of pride in the eyes of the world. If it should be untrue, ahimsa would still be a long way off. The same about truth. In that case the very idea of the success of non-violence cancels itself out. Where there is non-violence, failure is impossible. So, wherever there is failure, all that can be said is that there had been no non-violence. It is another question as to who can distinguish between success and failure. I cannot be a witness to faults like pride, impatience, etc., I may be having. To a certain extent, only outsiders can be witness. The true witness is only God.

It should not even be imagined that the Hindus are being chided too much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

225. LETTER TO WALTER RITTER

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 21, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I am glad that your son is in India and hope he is doing well.

I fancy that I remember most things about my stay at Villeneuve in 1931.¹ I know about Romain Rolland's death².

You should know that I am a much misrepresented man if I am also a somewhat esteemed man. I have been learning all my life to remain unaffected by praise or blame. My attempt has not altogether been vain. Whatever I said during the war about Japan or Great Britain was published in the newspaper I was editing till it was suppressed. But it would be wrong to say that "my sympathy went with Japan against Great Britain". As a matter of fact, I wrote strongly against Japan's misdeeds as I did against those of Great Britain and I put down in writing the non-violent way of resisting Japan's aggression on India.

Much more baseless is the charge about my "agreement to the use of weapons in case of a brother-war between Hindustan and Pakistan." My writings would show the contrary. My views against war and on non-violence remain just as strong as they ever were.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

WALTER RITTER, ESQ.
ENGINEER
USTER SWITZERLAND

From a copy : Pyarelal papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Vide* Vol. XLVIII.

² In Switzerland on December 30, 1944

226. LETTER TO ULI RITTER

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 21, 1947

DEAR RITTER,

Herewith enclosed is my answer¹ to your father's letter as per his advice that I should send it to you.

I hope you are flourishing in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
M.K.GANDHI

ENCL : ONE
ULI RITTER, ESQ.
ENGINEER
C/O MESSRS. VOLKART BROS.
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

227. LETTER TO ARNOLD HEIM

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 23, 1947

DEAR DR. ARNOLD HEIM,

I was delighted to receive your letter of 18th ultimo. You unnecessarily fear that service for the good of humanity might, in my opinion, be less than prayer. *Laborare est prare*, it that labour is in the service of humanity. Though, therefore, there may be no fear of clash of ideals between us, I warn you against taking the trouble of coming to India for the mere satisfaction of meeting me.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

Much as I should love to see you and to hear from you how you could exist in the Himalayas without alcohol and meat, I must not yield to the temptation. Very often I have found the saying "Distance lends enchantment to the view" verified. Moreover at the present moment, we in India have been overtaken by unexpected insanity, which has turned many of us into cut-throats. If, however, you feel that you must come to India even apart from your desire to see me, you would be most welcome.

I have shown your letter to my friend Prof. Horace Alexander who may write to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROFESSOR OF GEOLOGY
HOFSTRASSE 100, ZURICH
SWITZERLAND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

228. *LETTER TO B. BANERJI*

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
November 26, 1947

DEAR ADVOCATE BANERJI,

With reference to your letter of 24th instant about displaced Harijans,¹ you have forgotten to tell me where these displaced men are located or whether they are wandering about the streets without shelter. You have also omitted to inform me whether you have approached the Home Minister, because, as you should know, the Home Minister has jurisdiction over all these areas. In order to spare me you have spared relevant facts and thereby added further burden upon me and harmed your clients. Please, therefore, take the trouble

¹ The addressee had said that the Harijans living in the slums between the Turkman Gate and the Delhi Gate had been displaced and were yet to be rehoused.

to give me full information without embellishment. Then it is possible that I might be helpful.

I must thank you for the information about *Kamins* which is most interesting and instructive.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI B. BANERJI, M.A., LL.M.
ADVOCATE, FEDERAL COURT
DELHI GATE
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

229. TELEGRAM TO NAWAB MOHAMMAD ISMAIL KHAN

[November, 1947]²

VICE CHANCELLOR
ALIGARH UNIVERSITY

DELEGATION SHOULD GO NOW. WORK PAKISTAN PEOPLE CREATE SUIT-
ABLE ATMOSPHERE. READ MY RELEVANT SPEECH.³

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ The addressee had informed Gandhiji that Punjab Harijans, described as *Kamins*, could not live in and own land in villages or build *pucca* structures there.

² This was scribbled on the addressee's telegram dated November, 1947 which read : "Many thanks for granting interview University Union Vice President. He informs that you approve of delegation of students going Punjab and induce non-Muslims to remain in their homes. I would prefer their going with you. Wire whether they should proceed now or later."

³ Presumably the reference is to Gandhiji's "Speech at Prayer Meeting", *vide* Vol. LXXXIX, pp.471-5.

230. LETTER TO RUSSELL EGNER

[After December 5, 1947]¹

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of December 5, 1947. You may publish the quotations² mentioned therein.

Please note that I am not Dr. Gandhi.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

231. A NOTE

December 8, 1947

It would of course be best if a woman could remain unmarried her whole life. But only one in a million would be able to do so. Desire for marriage is a natural thing. There is nothing to be ashamed of in it. To believe marriage to be a fall has an adverse effect on the mind and causes harm in many other ways. The best way is to treat marriage as a religious duty and to exercise the utmost self-restraint in the married state. The householder's state is one of the four states of *Varnashrama*. The other three states depend on it. But these days marriage has become a means of indulgence and that has led to terrible consequences.

¹ From the date of the addressee's letter

² The addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission for the use of the following two quotations from his works.

"The tug of war will never end war and that will only end when at the crucial moment a body of pacifists have at any cost testified their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty." (*vide* Vol. LXIX, p.123) and

"A clean spirit must build a clean body. I am convinced that the main rules of religious conduct conserve both the spirit and the body. Let me hope and pray that this college will witness a definite attempt on the part of the physicians to bring about a reunion between the body and the soul." (*vide* Vol. XIX, p. 357)

Women should regard the duties of the householder's state as religious duties and live accordingly. Personally I believe that if we give thought to it and live the householder's life with the same strict discipline which a sannyasi follows, we would find that a householder's path is much harder to follow than becoming a sannyasi, that it is a path full of thorns. But a rosebush is full of thorns and yet when the roses bloom in the midst of those thorns, the whole bush looks grand. We should strive to reach the condition of that rosebush.¹ Hence we should marry not with the motive of physical pleasure but to cultivate self-control and bring lustre to the householder's dharma. That will immensely increase our capacity for service. If a woman filled with such spirit of service chooses as partner a man with similar feelings, the united power of the service of the two could benefit the country many more times than the service of either of them singly. Similarly, if the householder's life, as I have said, is a religious duty, motherhood automatically becomes one. That duty is much more arduous. In order to fulfil it, the couple should practise self-control and bring forth progeny with a due sense of religious and moral responsibility. For that, women should know the rules of physical, mental and spiritual hygiene. The woman who presents the country with healthy, vigorous and well-brought-up children also serves the country. If the couple have the spirit of service in them, their children are bound to be influenced by it and will themselves take up work of service when they grow up. The point I wish to make is that those who are inspired by a total spirit of service will serve under all conditions. If the couple do not live their life in the spirit of service, they will be nothing but impostors. Their having been married will then have no meaning. The argument that after marriage no work of service is possible has no substance. It depends entirely on the marrying couple. As my explanation shows, marriage puts the partners to a severe test but also helps them to render service.

[From Gujarati]

Dilliman Gandhiji - II, pp.49-50

¹ The simile of the rose is a recurrent analogy in Gandhiji's definition of service and spiritualism; *vide* Vol. XXXV, p. 63, Vol. LX, p. 323 and Vol. LXIV, p. 100.

December 8, 1947

To live, man primarily requires two things – food and clothing. And the means of solving the problem are simple. One way is to accept gifts. But begging never helps the poor to solve their problem. On the contrary, they lose their spirit and become weak and indolent. Another way is to take up a job. But service, too, does not make one self-reliant. The third way is to produce the things one needs. There are two means of doing that: the charkha and the mill. Through mills we can produce cloth on a large scale and become self-sufficient as a community but not as individuals. There is talk about a third world war. If a third world war breaks out it is doubtful whether we shall not be dragged into it. But I leave that question aside, though I can say with confidence that if India only makes up her mind not only can she keep herself away from war but she has the strength to prove to the world the futility of war. But today while brother is cutting brother's throat in our own country with what face can I promise that? I therefore leave that question aside for the present.

But if unfortunately for the country it is attacked by bombs, the first targets will be the mills and not the homes where the charkha is plied. If, when the mills are razed to the ground as a result of the bombing, the charkha and the *takli* are plying we shall not feel helpless and the world will see that though India's mills had been reduced to ashes, she was still standing on her feet.

[From Gujarati]
Dilliman Gandhiji - II, pp.51-2

December 9, 1947

Only a woman should be appointed an Agent of the Kasturba Trust. For instance in Assam and Utkal no women workers are available. We should therefore do without Agents there. But having regard to the aims of the Trust men should not be employed as Agents. If today we employ them as Agents, tomorrow we shall be tempted to employ them in other capacities too. The Trust's object is to find ways and means to uplift the women and children of villages.

I do not want the Trust merely to run hospitals. We must explain the meaning of freedom to the women in the seven lakh villages of India. We should explain to them the duties and not the rights of a woman as mother, sister and daughter in a free country. If we talk about rights, that will increase mutual distrust and strife. If they understand their duties, they will automatically understand their rights. For instance, if a girl is born, the parents ask what need there is to educate her, and sell her off when she grows up. We should try to eradicate such wrong ideas and evil practices. If a girl of 20 is sold or married off to an old man of 60 or 70, what is the duty of the girl as a wife? A girl of 20 cannot be said to be a mere child. If such a girl has been educated by the Trust, she can very humbly and respectfully tell her husband that she looked upon him as her father and she serves him as such. She can tell him that her parents had married her to him in their ignorance, but she would treat him as her father. In this way she can adopt the path of service.

QUESTION. If a woman is violated and a child is born, what should she do?

GANDHIJI. If this happens the woman should feel ashamed of herself. I would not call it violation. The woman does have a share in it. Still, however, if she kills the child, her sin will be even greater. What she can do to expiate the sin is to bring up the child. After all, what crime has the child committed? In Nadiad they had placed a box in which a woman could put her new-born baby so that the mother could escape social obloquy and the child's life might be saved. I must confess that I do not approve of this method. It encourages moral looseness in men and women. If along with innocent women morally loose women also follow the same way, you should arouse a feeling

among the women that such action is shameful. However, though such women should feel ashamed of themselves, to have the child is the utmost limit of cruelty. Even cruelty must have some limits.

[From Gujarati]

Dilliman Gandhiji –II pp. 64-6

234. *LETTER TO T. S. AVINASILINGAM CHETTIAR*

BIRLA HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
December 13, 1947

MY DEAR AVINASILINGAM,

Please read the enclosed¹ and tell me whether what is attributed to you is true. I do not feel like publicly dealing with it unless I know the exact fact.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI T.S. AVINASILINGAM CHETTIAR
MINISTER FOR EDUCATION

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

235. *LETTER TO NIRANJAN SINGH GILL*

[After *December 25, 1947*]²

I have your two letters. You did well in writing to me about the Harijans. Continue doing work of service in this way.

It will be a great thing if the Deshseva Sena can be completely non-violent.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ Not traceable

² The letter is written on the addressee's note of December 25, 1947.

236. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS¹

Q. 1 Is it possible to recite Ramanama from the heart even while talking to someone, doing arduous mental work or when mentally perturbed? If people do so even under such conditions, how do they manage it?

A. Experience tells us that whatever the situation a person may be in, even if he may be asleep, if he has formed the habit, and if Ramanama fills his heart, recitation of Ramanama will continue as long as the heart beats. Otherwise, it may be said that he utters Ramanama only with his lips, or if occasionally it enters the heart, it certainly does not reign in the heart. When Ramanama rules the heart, it is needless to ask how the recitation is carried on. For, when the Name has found a place in the heart, recitation is superfluous. It would be correct to say that those whose hearts are thus permeated by Ramanama are few. I have no doubt that Ramanama does indeed possess the power attributed to it. Not everyone can have Ramanama inscribed in his heart by merely wishing it. It requires a tireless effort and also patience. How can one find the philosopher's stone without patience? Ramanama is superior to it.

Q. 2 Is it from a certain mental weakness that one sees so many layers of the mind, or is it necessary for the mind to pass through all these stages before reaching a state of steadiness? Why is it that even in the waking state dreamlike visions come and go? How is it that phantoms of things never experienced in life appear in the mind or echo in the heart?

A. Before arriving at steadiness of mind almost everyone has to pass through stages enumerated in the question. That is to say, those who have in the former life striven without achieving success will not need to pass through agony in the present birth. When the mind is calm but one still has dream-like experiences, it only means that

¹ In this section of undated items, letters and notes from Gandhiji to individuals have been put together in the alphabetical order of surnames, as it has not been possible to establish conclusive evidence of the period to which they belong. However, an occasional inference as regards the date of an item is ventured in a footnote to the title.

though the mind appears calm on the surface, it is not in fact calm. That there are visions of things not related to experience, means, in my view, that apart from memory, there are many other things involved.

Q.3 When work of service makes demands of one, sometimes it is not possible to pursue devotional activity. Is this harmful? What should be considered more important – service or recitation of God's name?

A. Whether it is the demands of work or even sterner demands, the recitation of the Ramanama may never be stopped. Its outward expression may be modified depending on the circumstances. Even if one does not count the beads, can Ramanama which is inscribed in the heart, be abandoned?

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

237. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS¹

1. There is life and there is death. Freedom from all bondage is *moksha*.
2. He who considers himself in bondage is a bound person. It is attachment. He is bound by the bonds of attachment. Knowingly or unknowingly, he seeks freedom from it.
3. Freedom that needs replenishing is not freedom. He who is free is the best.
4. There is not the slightest external difference between a bound and a free man. A free man recognizes himself. Even while doing, he does not do, for he never yearns for reward. He does his deeds by force of the previous *sanskaras*².

¹ Posed by Maganbhai Shankerbhai Patel

² This is followed by a quotation in Sanskrit, which is not clear in the source.

5. No activity is possible for the one who is free. For him there is nothing that remains to be attained.
6. Rama, Krishna, etc., who are settled in my imagination are free souls to my mind. My emancipated Rama and Krishna have nothing at all to do with the Rama and Krishna of history. This is a matter of imagination. In truth, only the emancipated can recognize the emancipated. I have not become emancipated myself.
7. Apart from non-vegetarianism, I have written about the historical Buddha. But that would be like proud words from an undeserving person. I see no harm in regarding the Buddha as a perfect, and hence, an emancipated being.
8. I started accepting the existence of God when I accepted the existence of soul. Prior to that my condition was similar to that of an atheist if not exactly of an atheist. During my search for Truth I discovered the soul. If there is nothing like soul, then a truthful action may even be a sin. But I got firmly convinced that truthful action is meritorious action at all times and thus I discovered the soul.
9. God's form is incomprehensible. Reason can somehow grasp it. It is clear from experience. I have the experience as far as faith goes. But that experience is not such that all perversities of (my) mind can be said to have vanished.
10. Faith means belief in something which we cannot prove to others or in something that others cannot prove (to us). I have faith in both these senses. Once we fully believe that faith can do everything, we have no place anywhere, or being in it, our place is everywhere. It is absolutely true that I wanted to live. It was out of pride that I had a yearning that my body still had a function to perform. It is still there. Even while knowing that every disease lies there, it is not destroyed. My physical senses are pulling me perforce and do not let me give up my ego.
11. The greatest endeavour is endeavour for *moksha*. *Moksha* means elimination of ego. I prevail into everybody. The first step is the intense experience that I am unhappy when others are unhappy and I am happy when others are happy. When that happens, the ego can hardly persist. In the midst of disturbances I find and experience peace. How can there be peace when there is misery everywhere ? But if that misery has to be eliminated, I have got to be calm, and therefore, I remain calm. If I do something grievously wrong for the

sake of swaraj, Swami Ramatirtha's¹ description of it as a night would be correct. Swami Vivekananda's view is also correct that our rise with the help of the world implies the welfare of the world.

12. Fate means the acts one has committed. Clearly, I am reaping the reward for what I did yesterday.

13. Truth, non-violence and the keen observance of *brahmacharya*, etc., are a means to attain *moksha*.

14. *Moksha* means elimination of all action, that is, elimination of ego. But that elimination is possible only by burning away the desire for reward. Action is connected with the body and it will go on. We must be its witness. That is why I would always read, always spin. And yet I can believe that I am not reading; I am not spinning. This can be experienced. It cannot be explained.

15. And I do not see place for anyone in the Ashram who wishes to merely indulge in meditation without any concrete physical activity. In the Ashram one has to learn to concentrate only on one thought while eating or drinking, sitting or sleeping, or wielding the pick-axe. That alone is true meditation.

One who merely indulges in meditation has a place in the world. His livelihood depends on God. He subsists only by whatever easily falls into his hands.

16. You must think of action in a wider sense. Thereby you will see that you will act till the end. With that in view, physical labour has been given an unassailable position in the Ashram. The only thing we can do is to take away the element of ego from it. The principle would be that everybody would do physical *yajna* for everybody else. We would work for the sake of the Ashram and so, even though working the whole day, we would feel grateful.

17. Desire for a son is opposed to *moksha*. Hence, it does not behove a person desiring *moksha* to have physical contact with women. And any contact with an outside woman would be worse than an animal pursuit. What more can I explain here? There is only attachment in

¹ (1873-1906); Hindu religious thinker, philosopher and poet

the article by Andrews. It will vanish in course of time because his heart is pure.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 8852. Courtesy : Maganbhai S. Patel

238. *FRAGMENT OF A LETTER*

. . .¹ has also died. I had the first vision of swaraj. I am ashamed. I cannot say what will happen tonight. How can I come there under these circumstances? Hence, I am sending somebody who would give you the information and explain. Now our programme is also likely to change a little. If there are disturbances, we will not be able to realize our expectations and only God's will shall prevail.

I expect it will be completely quiet there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11283. Courtesy : Not known

239. *A LETTER*²

Y.M.

CHI. . . . ,

The rule about khadi is generally not applicable in jail. If they do not allow us to wear our own clothes, then we can wear whatever is provided. If the jail food does not suit us, we can ask for whatever food that suits us. If that is not given, then we should eat what is

¹ Omission as in the source

² It is presumed that this and the following 22 letters obtained from the diary of Narandas Gandhi were written during Gandhiji's incarceration in Yeravda Central Prison in the years 1930-1933. Gandhiji euphemistically referred to the prison as "Yeravda Mandir." The addressee's names, however, are not ascertainable.

given if it agrees with us. If not leave it to the jail authorities to change it. You can certainly ask for the facility for daily spinning routine. Generally it is given.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11309. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

240. A LETTER

Y. M.

CHI. . . ,

Received your beautiful letter. It is beautiful mainly because you have described in it your state of mind at the time of being beaten up. You tried to contain your anger at that time and therein was your non-violence. With such practice non-violence would ultimately become natural and, as a result, everyone would give up the feeling of animosity. But only in the case of one in a million does non-violence become a natural practice.

We are only trying to pursue that path. I experience every moment that nothing else is as interesting as that effort. Just as a hungry man nurtures himself daily by eating nutritious food, so also a man suffering from the hunger of non-violence drinks deep of the nectar of non-violence and nurtures himself and takes long draughts of joy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11312. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

241. A LETTER

Y.M.

CHI. . . . ,

There will always be proud and defective people in the world. Even we are not without defects. Remembering that, we should bear with others. The afflicted person should not submit to injustice in spite of having to suffer hardships. The same rule applies to the spectator.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11315. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

242. A LETTER

Y.M.

CHI. . . . ,

Received your letter. As far as I remember, I have developed in the following manner.

Truth, non-violence, non-possession, *brahmacharya*, fearlessness, indifference to taste.

During my quest for truth, I saw the need for non-violence, and so, I tried to cultivate it. From that arose the need for non-possession. But I felt everything was hard without *brahmacharya*. This led to the discovery of satyagraha. This gave me fearlessness. I have since been practising indifference to taste. But now I realize that indifference to taste was necessary for the observance of *brahmacharya*. This is the main thing. I hope you are not asking similar questions about swadeshi, untouchability, etc.? I have been able to cultivate these qualities due to deep thinking and effort. Behind all that, there is no doubt an unflinching faith in God.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11308. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

243. A LETTER

DEAR. . . ,

What is this I hear, that because of the hardship that Jamnalalji is undergoing, you are torturing yourself by going barefoot? It is not for me to interfere with anybody's acts of self-denial, much less yours. But is this necessary? So far as I know, J. is quite happy but even if it was otherwise, sympathetic suffering would not be called for in such a case. But I am writing in utter ignorance of facts.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11328. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

244. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

Forgetting the original point about *avatar*, people have indulged in all kinds of fanciful ideas. There would be no improvement by wading through them, but it can be done by our good behaviour. Good conduct means good work in which we can concentrate ourselves. Now let the world sink or swim, for to the extent that the sinking or the swimming of the world is in our hands, we are making our efforts.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11296. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

245. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

Do not be impatient; go on doing whatever work you can within the means available to you. Develop a sense of detachment even with regard to such a noble work. "You must have a feeling of

equanimity for 'Moh'", said Raichandbhai out of experience. . . .¹ Do not be tired of him. Be content with whatever work he does. Keep on reminding him of his duty, but that too by a mere suggestion. He will do that which you and I would not be able to do. 'That' means passion, and includes also the bad habits of people. Even passion cannot destroy good habits, because that is the essence. Let us forget the scholarliness about the dictum नभावो विधत्ते सत्तः।

Tolerance in the case of . . .² is the best remedy. The three powerful factors are active in the case of everyone : previous *samskaras* – environment – endeavour. How is it that two persons with contradictory natures are born in the same house? If such a question is asked, the reply would be that we have not known the good and bad characteristics of Mast and his father and their elders. Hence, we do not have sufficient means to pass any judgment and let us not even have a desire to know that. It would suffice to know the Law of Karma.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11299. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

246. A LETTER

CHI. . . .,

Learn to do service only for the sake of service, so that all your troubles disappear. Give up the temptation of reward. Thinking is more necessary than reading. But if thoughts do not come systematically, then reading is the only recourse. It would suffice even if you can spare a quarter of an hour every day.

The story of the two is a tragic one.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11297. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

^{1&2}Omissions as in the source

247. A LETTER

The two questions raised by you are worth consideration. But, if they are rationally considered, many other questions arise from them and they take us to the point when man should resort to fasting and go into *samadhi*. The concept of renunciation seems to have been born only out of such ideas. But what we know as renunciation would prove to be incomplete from the rational point of view. Hence, the ultimate course would be resorting to fast. But man cannot do it, and even if he does make an attempt, his mind is likely to imagine all kinds of things. It seems to me that the origin of the *Gita* lies in such a line of thought. And the *Gita* shows us on the one hand the ideal of life, and on the other, shows us how to conduct ourselves in life while pursuing that ideal. In one sentence it is like this : Keeping the ideal in view, properly discharge whatever duty one may be called upon to do and crave for no reward. It is by following this line that the problems arising at the Ashram get solved. If a thief came to the Ashram, we would let him stay. But we humbly admit our inability to do so, and solve the situation in a manner that would behove us. We have not discovered a purely non-violent way of dealing with the cattle, animals, birds and the insects that come and destroy our harvests. Hence, we practise certain violence, considering it unavoidable in recognition of our own weakness. Otherwise, I know that driving away the cattle by shouting or hitting them with a stick, creating fright in the heart of a bird by throwing a pebble at it, destroying the insects by crushing them under the plough or by any other method, driving away snakes and such creatures or even permitting killing them, are all against the principle of non-violence. But since the Ashram or the inmates of the Ashram have not reached the stage of perfection, these things are being done even though they are inconsistent with the principle of non-violence. For that way alone is it possible to discover a path to *moksha*. I have no doubt that sitting back after stopping all activity is even worse than doing such things which are against the principle of non-violence. That is exactly why the author of the *Gita* has said that just as behind every fire there is the fault of smoke, human beings are also afflicted with some fault or the other. Man should realize this and be humble. And he should discharge the duty he is destined to discharge in a spirit of service and realize that whatever the consequences may be, he is

merely an instrument in the hands of God.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11319. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

248. *A LETTER*

You cannot insist that you will never teach women. You must discharge all your duties that come to you as a matter of course and be absorbed in them. That is our duty. No amount of coaching in the *Gita* would be enough for the women at the Ashram. Hence, you must educate any woman that you are called upon to do.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11302. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

249. *A LETTER*

CHI. . . .,

Is it not *brahmacharya* when we devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the service we are called upon to do and give no thought to any other service? And how can a *brahmachari* be disturbed in mind?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11305. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

250. *A LETTER*

CHI. . . .,

If you have developed the feeling that all the inmates of the Ashram are brothers and sisters, you will not miss anyone.

Ultimately what we have to learn is that the whole world is one.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11306. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

251. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

When a person has no aspiration, or has only the desire to render service, why should his mind not be at peace? Feeling pity for all living beings is service to all living beings. Otherwise, what is the purpose of pity? We can serve all living beings only by being one with them, and we cannot feel one with them without self-effacement. It is certain that in self-effacement lies self-realization.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11307. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

252. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

Remember this much, that no one gives or takes from anyone. This does not mean that we do not take anything from anyone. But that act of taking is to be performed by us. The Ganga flows for everyone. It does not on its own give anything to anyone. But one draws from it according to one's need.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11311. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

253. A LETTER

CHI. . . ,

I do not think that because of the present-day conditions there is anything wrong in stage performances. We should never think that today's conditions are painful or sad. We should not feel tired if the circumstances of today persist for a long time. If we consider these times something to feel sad about, we are bound to feel tired also. Moreover, from our point of view, activity in itself is useful and is educative in one way or other. Let us discard those activities about which this cannot be said. From this point of view also, it is not necessary to give up stage performances. There is no need at all to make a distinction between a musical concert and drama, physical exercise and sports. And there is no need also to make a distinction between all these activities and the subjects taught in school.

Now, coming to that *bhajan*, whenever we have perfectly understood a particular thing and we have come to like it, we can say that our mind has become completely absorbed in it. Anyone who has become so absorbed, does not proclaim aloud his joy, but remains lost in his joy. Similarly, one who merges in God can also be said to be in a state of ecstasy. And when one has attained that state, what more is there to be said? This is what the poet has sung. The poet has then taken the example of diamond. When one has a diamond in his possession, one does not keep taking it out and looking at it. He knows that he has the diamond with him and that consciousness gives him sufficient satisfaction. Similarly, he who has come to have faith in God, will never lose his faith. Repeatedly taking out the diamond is a sign of lack of faith. That is why the poet has said, now that you have got the diamond in the form of God, why do you show lack of faith and why do you go on bidding with it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11314. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

254. A LETTER¹

CHI . . . ,

I have suggested that we should expose our faults before the whole world. I have not made it a compulsion. I cannot even do that. But as we become more and more devoted to truth, we feel more and more ashamed to conceal our faults. One feels relieved when the faults are exposed. I can say that at least for myself. But the limit that you have pointed out is not unjustified. We feel at peace by admitting our faults before the One whom we regard as our Advocate. Even this much is more than sufficient. You do know this much. I keep things secret when people request me to keep them to myself. But when matters involving other people are brought to me on condition that I keep them secret, I refuse to hear about them. If you narrate before me the faults of Chi. . . . and ask me not to refer it to Chi. . . . it would be wrong on my part to hear about Chi. . . .'s faults.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11313. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

255. A LETTER

I was very happy to receive your letter. In a way, it is only good that Pandit Sukhlal is learning English. But I doubt if it would help him in fulfilling his purpose. That requires a very thorough study of English. It is another matter if he can spare that much time. I am reminded of the experience of Narayan Hemachandra.² He was

¹ Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

² For Gandhiji's references to Narayan Hemachandra, vide *An Autobiography* – Part I, Ch. XXII.

under the impression that one can do translations by having working knowledge of languages. He had made such attempts in English and French and I know that there were many errors in his translations. But how could an ordinary student like me convince a well-known writer like Narayan Hemachandra? He did not agree and today I know that his effort was wasted because he was not even able to publish what he had written. And if he did publish something about which I had no knowledge, it is forgotten by now. This instance must be cited to Panditji. He will draw a lesson from it if it is worthwhile. All I know is that whatever we do must be done well or not done at all. And doing it well means doing it correctly, which is the first step. If there is no mastery over language, it often results in howlers like mistaking आज मर गया¹ for 'अजमेर गया' There are nearly fifteen English translations of the *Gita*. Some of them are utterly ridiculous. The translators had earned a name in their own respective fields, but they do not seem to have considered at all whether or not they were qualified to do the translation. The result is that there is a terrible mess with regard to some *slokas*. Let it be clear to Sukhlalji that all this is said not by way of criticism but in a spirit of friendship. Since Sukhlalji has worked in the field of archaeology, I expect from him correctness, truthfulness and zeal in every matter. And, it is to convey my experience to him that I am writing this much. Feel free to write anything you wish to the Sardar or even to me. Moreover, we both have time to ponder and discuss things. I do not recall our having had such an opportunity ever since we came to know each other. It is all right that you went to Santiniketan. Somehow, we have to render some service. Do write regularly from there too. Keep on sending to me whatever you think I should read. You must be keeping good health.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11318. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

¹ A favourite analogy used by Gandhiji, e.g., Vol. XXI, p. 91.

256. A LETTER

CHI. . .,

From the point of view of natural beauty, I know of no other country which is better than India. The Ganga is revered more because it fertilizes large parts of India.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11316. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

257. A LETTER

CHI. . .,

Received your letter. Let sister live in whatever way she wants. I am hopeful that she will survive. Just as a woman cannot look after all men, we must also forget about reforming all women. It is our duty to help whenever she asks for it. God will protect everybody's sanctity. You should forget . . .¹ bahen and be absorbed in what you consider is your duty.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11301. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

258. A LETTER

CHI. . .,

You cannot talk to anyone at the cost of sleep. Discard irregularity as an enemy. Do not put yourself in a situation in which you may have to complete the *yajna* by keeping awake at night. I can notice exhaustion and some despondency in your letter this time. We are strictly against despondency. And why should anyone feel exhausted if he works according to his ability?

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11298. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

¹ Omission as in the source

259. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

It can be said that I like being at both the places, for I have got accustomed to being outside as well as in jail. And where is the question of choice for one who has accepted the path of service? We must give our services wherever there is scope. You ask me what service one can render in jail! My reply is that while in jail, one must qualify oneself for service. Moreover, there may be some occasions when one can do some service.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11310. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

260. A LETTER

ALLAHABAD

CHI. . . . ,

It is all right that you asked the question. The answer can be found only from my letters. Happiness and unhappiness are states of mind. But when do we realize that it is a state of mind? Never through reading. It can be realized only through experience. Hence unhappiness is necessary. Here, the meaning of unhappiness is what the world understands by it. Physical illness, onslaughts on the body, scarcity of food, being robbed, being insulted, etc., are the states of unhappiness that are mentally experienced. He who is a devotee, a *yogi*, who is unified with the *Brahman*, who is detached, does not count such situations as unhappiness and remains content even by them, just as he is content with so-called happiness. Thus, by attaining a sense of indifference, the state self-knowledge is realized. Do you get the point? She too will have an occasion to get beaten up.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11300. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

261. A LETTER

CHI. . . . ,

It is good that true to your name, you are trying to be truthful in your speech and action. You would be called a satyagrahi if you insist on speaking only truth. Instead of speaking the truth as far as possible, why should you not speak the truth as you know it, no matter what happens? I have seen from experience that once you are determined, no vow is as easy to keep as this. Once it is realized that you have to speak only the truth, there is no question at all of speaking an untruth. Think about this. And for one who has started on the path of truth, other vows become easy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11304. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

262. A LETTER

This is easy. Ba has Su. with her. Now she is at ease with A.S., Su. with her and Su. with Sharda.¹ But I do not wish to go into it. I have just conveyed the dream as it was. I have also confessed that it is indicative of the perverse state of my mind. Now you do what you want.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11325. Courtesy : Munnalal Shah

¹ This sentence in the original is unintelligible.

263. A LETTER

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

When the charkha classes are going on before me, everything else appears to me devoid of life. For me, in the cotton yarn my Rama dances. I find swaraj in the cotton yarn because in the cotton yarn there is peace. When I think about how strong the yarn would be when spun by 40 crore hands, I feel content. It is another matter when forty crore hands would start spinning. Such a statement is an expression of our lack of faith. It also speaks of our ignorance. Would not twenty crore people sacrifice one hour of their time for Mother India? If we cannot make even that much sacrifice, what can we do for Mother India? And is it a sacrifice? Ultimately, we ourselves would wear the clothes made from that very yarn, would we not? Let us pray to God that everyone understands such a simple thing.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Rashtriya Shala (Rajkot) Diamond Jubilee Issue, 1921-1981

264. A LETTER

BHAI M.,

If you do everything with proper thought and thoroughly, you will automatically know the next step and you will find satisfaction.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 1690. Courtesy : Ramniklal Modi. Also G.N. 4216

265. A LETTER

Received your letter after the letter to . . .¹ was already written. I am much pleased by your utterances. But I am equally dissatisfied with your handwriting. You must improve your handwriting. Your persistent cough makes us anxious. Your cough must be cured. Are you doing deep breathing properly? Whenever you have cough, you should try saltless diet. You should also give up milk and ghee and subsist on root and vegetables. That way your system would be cleansed and you will be able to work. But the great thing is that if the cough still does not stop, greater efforts should be made to cure it. The more important remedy is deep breathing, and this should not be done half-heartedly. While sleeping, do you keep your mouth closed and head uncovered?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati in Hindi script: G.N. 2036

266. A LETTER

I will not leave right away, but I have to carry on propaganda for Hindustani. If notwithstanding this I am kept on as member and if their policy is not against Hindustani, I will remain. My stand for the last many years, that is, since the Indore session,² has been that Hindi is lame without Urdu. Even a resolution to that effect was passed at my instance. I believe that the policy was changed subsequently. Now I wish to do both the things together if I can. If I cannot, I will leave and carry on on my own. If Urdu is a part of Hindi – and it certainly is—it cannot be excluded.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8040

¹ Omission as in the source

² Of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in March, 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 292-7

267. A LETTER

AHMEDABAD,
Friday

I shall start from here on Monday. I too had joked in response to your joke. I can never give my consent about L.L.B. I gather that it is your responsibility to become a barrister or pass L.L.B. I felt that in that case you would have to pass L.L.B. I would not let you appear for any examination if I can have my way. I would make you undertake the study of Sanskrit. And I will make use of you in activities connected with . . .¹ or something similar. I shall take care to feed more ink into my pen.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11293. Courtesy : Not known

268. A LETTER

Therein lies your great fault. You are throwing all discretion to the winds and losing all sense of propriety. Getting rid of that fault would be your great endeavour. Ultimately you will become aware of your fault. Now that is over. You have to think about the future. You can go from here only by gaining peace of mind. I am not driving you away. I am only showing you the way to calm yourself. Maganlal lived away like this with the family for one year. Manilal also lived like that. Prabhudas lived like that for four years. Chhaganlal also lived away. All came back. Do not go if you are not convinced. If you go, you should go with pleasure.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 7232. Courtesy : Not known

¹ Omission as in the source

269. A LETTER

I am convinced that you should go for your studies and that also at Ahmedabad. You will have my full co-operation if you study. I would be happy if you shone in your studies. I believe that all learning is useful. It is not possible for you always to serve me. You have already done that. It would also give rise to jealousy, etc. You have done a wise thing in giving up serving me. The reason was wrong, but the act was right. That is why I tell you that I would send you today if you were ready. I shall take full interest in your studies.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11284. Courtesy : Not known

270. A LETTER

You may not be living in this locality, and so, nobody can expect anything from you. Come to catch the snake. You will have my full co-operation in your effort. I shall not reprimand you even if you fail. But I shall certainly reprimand if you become lazy, do not keep accounts and give yourself up to dreaming.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 7248. Courtesy : Not known

271. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

Jye [shtha] Kri [shna] 4

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

The reply to your letter you will find in the next issue of *Navajivan*. Kindly pardon the delay in acknowledgement.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 829

272. *LETTER TO AMBUJAMMAL*

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I was glad to get even that short letter from you. I was happy like a father who meets his daughter after a long separation. I expect letters from you because . . .¹

From the Hindi original : Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

273. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

CHI. A. SALAAM,

Your folly has no limit. Your fast was intended for two days only. The period will be over today. You should take orange juice tomorrow with a light heart. Afterwards I shall tell you why I have torn up your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 665

274. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

FOOLISH DAUGHTER,

You read the opposite meaning of what I write. It is no atonement to do something which gives you pleasure. Your massage gave me pleasure. . . .² A man does not display love when he is angry. I showered so much love on you because my anger had cooled down. Do you get me now?

¹ The letter is incomplete.

² A sentence here is illegible.

Kanu does not undertake a fast. Apply ointment to the piles. The question of accompanying me remains. There should be no promise to keep you always with me. This insistence has to be abandoned.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 677

275. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

DEAR DAUGHTER¹,

I intend to transfer you tomorrow – you should be at peace now. Write me a long letter. God's will be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 604

276. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

Your letter reads well. If you follow it up in action, all our sorrows – yours as well as mine –will end. I never knew that you had given up the bath

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 605

¹ This is in Urdu.

277. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

SEVAGRAM,
VIA WARDHA [C.P.]

DAUGHTER,

Why would you write? I shall be happier by your being well than by any letter from you. I have received an angry letter from Wahid¹. If you see it, you will have an idea of his anguish. His being angry did not distress me. He had every right to be. My advice now is that you should return only after making fool-proof arrangements for Mother and also after regaining your own health.

I am well. Kanchan sleeps on one side of me and Abha on the other.

Khan saheb writes about you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 598

278. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

What can I do if you do not understand? All my actions are motivated by love, not by anger or by displeasure. Your welfare is the only consideration. Everything will turn out well if you have patience. Take care of your health and be happy.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 666

¹ Addressee's brother

279. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

Y.M.,
Tuesday

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have not heard from you. Write to me. How are you, physically and mentally? What do you do?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayar and Dr. Sushila Nayar

280. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

Tuesday

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Your letter does credit to you. Why do you ask me to tear it up? With your permission, I intend to send that very letter to Anandanand. In any case you should come here. You say a follower of mine has hurt you. Does it mean that you are not my follower? If you are not my follower, I do not know who else is. In fact, I have and also do not have followers. I have innumerable colleagues. I do not claim they are my followers. Those who believe themselves to be my followers make that claim. I am not responsible for it. I do not exercise my authority on anyone. And it is for this reason that I am not burdened with the party responsibility. I cherish the affection of anyone as long as I can. Therefore, when someone hurts you, it is like hurting me. My colleague is also your colleague. Should we not share his difficulties? You will find that it is very hard to become wealthy and acquire somebody's love at the same time. Moreover, man bows before money. At the same time he does not wish to bow. That is why a man who thinks himself independent often crosses the limit. For such subtle reasons only I abandoned money. Money is the cause of envy. How can you be free of it? You are modest. You are wise. Therefore, you must bear with impu-

dence in others.

You do not hurt me. But I am certainly pained when you are hurt. If you wish to free me from pain, you tell me whatever you want but do not be unhappy yourself. I shall not worry then but I shall be free from fear if you are not feeling hurt.

You have got to get over your nervousness. You must drive it out in time. Do come here when you have calmed down or, if you are perturbed, to attain peace. I too would feel disturbed so long as you do not come.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32683

281. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

SABARMATI,
Jeth Sud 8

BHAISHREE SHANKERLAL,

I am sending herewith the statement of income and expenditure on construction work. You and Jamnadas have not yet reached the amount you had promised. Can you do so in the near future? Is it possible to raise some more money as you had said? I have run short of funds and that is the reason why I am reminding you.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

The statement of expenditure on construction work I have given is not up to date. The overheads are not included. You will see that I am carrying on the construction work with funds from another head.

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32722

282. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER¹

Sunday

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. You have already seen my letter to Varadachari. We shall see what comes of it. Your reply to him is appropriate.

My health is not bad at all. I do take castor oil occasionally.

Just now Subbaiah has informed me that Anasuyabehn has gone there. I am glad. Of course, it is of no consequence.

I have sent to you the papers regarding the registration.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32734

283. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER²

ASHRAM,

Bhadrapad Vad 7

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Sister told me about the censorious remarks. Censure is nothing new to you. It would be cowardice on your part to leave Ahmedabad or sister's house from fear of criticism. There is not the slightest reason to do such a thing. Who would ever take note of such criticism? What is so surprising about people talking? Our duty is to

¹ From the references to N. S. Varadachari and Subbaiah this letter appears to have been written in 1927.

² The letter was evidently written before 1929, for the last time Gandhiji was in the Sabarmati Ashram on *Bhadrapad Vad 7* was in 1928, viz., October 5.

listen and yet not allow our mind to be disturbed by it. It is even more so in the case of those who want to do service. It is necessary that you should come to Ahmedabad and be of service to the mill workers and others. Before that, you should stay at the Ashram and acquire mental peace.

You may certainly not leave Ahmedabad.

I keep getting dried fruit. It will be all right if you send it every eight days instead of every four.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32739

284. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

Monday

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your note. I am pained. If you have calmed down, come now or any time. I want you to have peace. If you do not come now, I shall definitely wait for you in the morning. But I want you to come right away.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32721

285. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

ON ARRIVAL AT WADI

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I keep worrying about you. Though unwittingly, I have hurt you no doubt. Its remedy lies in fortitude. You must contain your anger. Anandanand is not so bad as you seem to think. But even if he is bad,

you cannot abandon him altogether as long as he continues to be my colleague. You must agree to this much. You can be modest because you have that power. The rich can always be humble and modest. They have nothing at all to lose thereby. But right now, all I ask is that you should be calm. I feel sad when you feel hurt.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32687

286. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

Tuesday

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I think it is only good that I have come away leaving you behind. No matter what disturbances you see on the way, you continue on your path and also do not get angry. Whenever anyone challenges you, give courteous replies. If you are patient, everything will settle down. There are two ways of containing the situation. One is that truth should compromise with untruth. This way is wrong. When truth remains firm on its path, untruth, being illusory, disappears like the water of the mirage. I have seen it happen times without number. I do not always argue with you like this because you can grasp the true situation at once. But I am writing this letter to reassure myself. That is why I have started explaining the situation.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32698

287. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Received your letter. My mind is constantly hovering around you. This is because I have caused you pain. Now I know in what way you can be pacified. I should have exercised patience and avoided intruding in your territory and should have just watched the developments. I shall try to correct your mistake on my return. I wish you do not lose your peace of mind. Look after your health.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32694

288. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

Bhai Jethalal has asked for Rs.2000 for the purchase of cotton. If something remains from it, give him even one thousand if he wants. I have read Bhai Ratilal's letter. If he gives a satisfactory reply to your question regarding the one-anna grant, there may be no objection to giving it for a year. I have a little doubt because Ratibhai himself does not seem confident that people would store cotton with proper understanding or spin it. It seems from his letter that those who had been spinning at one time have stopped doing so. How long would the people who need to be tempted persist? My attitude at present is to definitely do what can be done with absolute purity. We should not be satisfied if after being provided implements worth five to seven rupees, people turn out work worth two or three rupees. If a person who has been given implements worth five rupees does the work worth about Rs.100 every year, then those implements would acquire glory. But the person doing work worth Rs.100 must repay

Rs.5 that very year. I have noted about the book about weaving . . .¹ You must have received ...² reply which I have sent yesterday. It must be said that Narayan has been very careless. Let the necessary steps be taken so that such a thing is not repeated from now on ...³ It seems Harjivan⁴ is pacified. There was a letter from him. The Kashmir affair must be well settled.

You must be keeping good health. Try a good homoeopath if you know one. I have not yet found out about the experiment of the homoeopath Ojha.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

289. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER*

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

Prabhudas's letter to you and Satis Babu's⁵ have been given to me.

1. I shall raise no objection if Prabhudas has been given an assurance by you and if you find his scheme appropriate. Will the khadi produced by him have a sale?

2. I am in favour of accepting the resignation of Hemaprabha Devi⁶ and Satis Babu. But I have nothing to go by except these letters. Hence my view can have no weight.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

^{1&3} Omissions as in the source

² Illegible in the source

⁴ Harjivandas Kotak

⁵ Satischandra Das Gupta

⁶ Wife of Satis Chandra Das Gupta

290. *LETTER TO THE CHILDREN OF BAL MANDIR*

LITTLE BIRDIES OF BAL MANDIR,

I have got no letter from you during this journey. The fault is not yours. It is the fault of my nature of travelling. I am so far away that post can reach here only three times a week.

Be it so. Now more when we meet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 8656. Courtesy : Radhabehn Chowdhari

291. *LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA*¹

CHI. SHARDA,

Anandi writes to me that you say you are never going to get well. It is not that at all. All you have to do is to learn to exercise restraint and have confidence in yourself. I have discovered after examining you at Wardha that there is nothing else wrong with you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9964. Courtesy : Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala

292. *LETTER TO SHARDABEHN G. CHOKHAWALA*

Y.M.,

Silence Day

CHI. BABU,

You may be thinking that I have completely forgotten you!

¹ The letter is placed in the source among those of 1933.

You would be silly to think so. If all those to whom I do not write start thinking that I have forgotten them, will I not be in a miserable plight? Are you exercising restraint in eating? You should not get asthma. You must be understanding your responsibility now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9882. Courtesy : Shardabehn Chokhawala

293. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

SHARDA,

I have your letter. Tell Shakaribehn that everybody would know what to write to me. I would accept any mad thing one may write to me.

How is it that you youngsters consider yourselves alone? Those who want to do service and find joy in doing it find enough company in their work. Of course, those who wish to indulge in small talk would feel lonely. But do we want to indulge in small talk?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9883. Courtesy : Shardabehn Chokhawala

294. *LETTER TO SHARDA G. CHOKHAWALA*

Saturday

Y.M.,

CHI. SHARADA : BABU,

You have been improving your handwriting quite well. Do observe discipline in eating. With whom are you staying at present? But now Chimanlal has come there. Tell him to give me news about

his health as also his experiences in Orissa, and news about the two sisters, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9884. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

295. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL AMRITLAL DAVE*

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have received your letter. If I really became an emperor, I would not have the same thoughts I am having now because of intoxication of power. I perfectly agree with your view that this is quite possible. That is exactly why I like the work of a sweeper, spinner, weaver.

I think you have judged V. bhai in a hurry. I do not recall anybody else making such a complaint. On the contrary, I have heard even from his adversaries that Vallabhbhai's administration in the municipality is absolutely clean. Everybody has said that he has served the municipality with extraordinary devotion.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

S.A. DAVE

HAJAM'S POLE

DARIYAPUR

AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19929

296. *LETTER TO DURGA DESAI*

Monday

CHI. DURGA,

Received your letter. Since you continue to have the same feelings, your health will some day permit you to render greater services. Let there be nothing wanting in our observance of restraint and then, we will have fully performed our duty. Even after that if we do not succeed, the blame should lie with God. When we do not ask from Him the reward of our good deeds, should He punish us for our unavoidable shortcomings? And if He does, let us bear the punishment and blame Him for having made us what we are. This is the main road which can be followed by men of merit as well as hypocrites. The one falls back while the other goes forward.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

There is one reply that I forgot to give to Mahadev. Here too there has been sufficient expiation. But all that contains Durga's share should be passed on to her.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11292. Courtesy : Not known

297. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

Silence day

CHI. MAHADEV,

This is not right. There is no question of your finding the time. Does a carpenter have to find time for his son? The son works with him and becomes like him. It is true, of course, that you have to be an ideal father. This thought should help you to have sound sleep.

This means that what you do, say or think, the same he will do, say or think. And Durga? She also should live in the same way.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11598

298. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

You had written to me about Anand as well as your father's ticket. I had not understood the significance. In the meantime there is this letter from Mathuradas which I can somewhat understand. I am pained even more than he would have been. I for one have not been able to understand it. I do not like *pujas* at all. What then to talk about *arati*? I do not even know that the Maharashtrian ladies had done the *arati*. I only thought they were blessing me as a sister would bless her brother on his birthday. But if the ladies had gathered for doing the *arati*, it was sinful on their part. I did not accept the *arati* with that view. But even the cocoanut irks me. Anyone prostrating before me also irritates me. I do not wish any obeisance done to me. This is the truth of my soul. But being close to me, perhaps you asked them to do so? Do I have to explain all this to you? If you have not understood that, I have to accept that it is my innermost desire to get such adulation. In that case, how can anyone be blamed if I find myself in the same situation as Caesar who desired the crown and did not get it? I am writing all this because you did not meet me yesterday. I received the letter only yesterday. Mathuradas has not received the letter. And Durga has said that you are going today and therefore I wish that you do not forget discussing the matter with him. Now both of you should talk it over. Ask Avantikabehn about what the Maharashtrian ladies had done. After that inform me about whatever tangible or subtle thing you might have observed, so that I would go deeper in examining myself.

I have still to discuss one thing with him. M. believes that you should stay only with me. I have partially understood it. This should also be fully understood that I do not have to write about it to you again. I have not fully understood his purpose. Anandanand has also

stressed it. He says that he has written to you at great length. He is very hurt. I wish he is convinced. I did not know that he desired your presence for the *Navajivan* to that extent. That is how I had understood you. But if it is possible to interpret your letter in the manner of Mathuradas, then you two should first discuss the matter and analyse me and then express your view. This is the purpose of my writing to you now.

This again is the third point. I do believe that then I too would have the qualities of absolute truth, non-violence, *brahmacharya*, etc. But surely I can take such an objective view at present? I had no idea that the matter was already discussed between you and Mathuradas. Why did you write that it was not a matter of question or complaint but that you two should discuss it together?

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 11749

299. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

CHI. VALJI,

Received your letter.

It is our duty to cure the crippled. But I do not think that forcibly castrating him is our duty. There are many ways to prevent the cripple from turning lunatic. But these involve hard work. With a stroke of legislation, castrating the ones that are considered crippled or making them impotent is neither a brave act nor a good effort. It is sheer despotism.

The statistics you send me do not impress me. We may be few but it is desirable that we are good. Many factors like diversities of food, customs, etc., lower our birth-rate. I am not sorry about that. My question is whether what is born is a human being or a beast. It would be wonderful if instead of male and female, we are born as man and woman.

Are you tempting Chitre to come over there? I am thoroughly convinced that his good lies only in remaining here. He has decided

to stay [here] many times and then again wavered. Now he has taken a vow [to stay] for six months. Madan Mohan's letter is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 11171. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

300. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

Ashwin Sud 9

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I re-read the extract you sent from Anandshankarbhai's letter. Based on that, I have prepared the enclosed draft. If you like it, print it after making the necessary insertions and also give its translation in the *Navajivan*. If you do not like it, send me the draft of your choice. If there are any factual errors in my draft, correct them and make other necessary changes. Your quotation with the heading 'Which Is The Nobler Point' is indeed beautiful. But do you think no one is aware of it? Quotations from books are appropriate when they are either incorporated in one's own writing or when they are very good and yet unfamiliar. I think some of the stories of Buddhadev¹ are very well known. Even then I have kept them in reserve till today. But when my doubt persisted, I wanted to know your intention in sending such stories.

You must be looking after your health. You must have gathered a lot of information about leather workshop and dairies.

Is it necessary to be so stingy about paper as you are trying to be? Even if you want to use such paper, why should there not be aesthetic sense and uniformity? Is there any virtue in rags or in joining the rags together and showing that as artistic effort?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 11173. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

¹ Buddhadev Bose

301. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

Silence day

BHAI SHRI VALJI,

Herewith the preface you had asked for.

It seems to me the proper thing to hand over the money collected for the students to the Go-raksha fund with the consent of the donors. If there is no need to consult the donors or anyone else, your way is clear.

The answers to your questions have been sent to the *Navajivan*.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 11174. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

302. LETTER TO DWARKANATH

DEAR DWARKANATH,

I have your beautiful letter. Keep writing about starching the yarn and the new spinning-wheels. I cannot do anything about Ba from here. Ba's reply was absolutely correct. None of us is small or big. We are all volunteers. But who could convince Mithubehn there or tell her anything? It is right that Ba should stay wherever she can be of greatest service. But it is Mithubehn who is holding the strings. Make your application to her. Blessings to Digambar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 86

303. LETTER TO AHMEDALI ESSOPALI

[BHAISHRI] AHMEDALI ESSOPALI,

I have your letter and the 100 franc note. The letter has been changed and the amount deposited with the *Navajivan* office. Many temples have separate courts for men and women desiring *darshan*. It is not my view that these ought to be separate. A time will surely come when men and women will be able to pray with a clear conscience and without being disturbed by evil thoughts. This is to be found in the western countries, where it is not known to have had any bad effects.

I find some of the pictures of Lord Krishna and the *gopis* very improper. Religious education alone can put a stop to this tendency.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19920

304. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

CHI. HARILAL,

Received your letter. If you are really repenting, if you have seen your bad habits, God will certainly help you. If you find peace, the help rendered by generous people like Mukundlalji would have served its purpose. Be firm and get rid of the filth of many years. Be calm. Do not run to the newspapers.

Keep writing to me. Your task is difficult, no doubt. However, nothing is difficult for God. Everything would be well if you seek His protection.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

305. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

Why do you keep falling ill? The remedy for malaria is quinine and purgatives. You can have only milk for your diet. How is Umia?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : M.M.U. III. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

306. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

Jeth Sud 12

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You have done well to reply Dorabji¹, "I shall reply when you talk like a gentleman". It was also proper that you did not greet him by saying "Sahebji", though I have my doubts about it. Nevertheless, the sentiment behind your not greeting him was justified. It is best to withdraw when such things are being discussed. I have known from experience that when it is not possible to withdraw, it is best to keep quiet. You should have kept quiet when you heard the comment in the train. When two persons not known to us indulge in such talk between them, why should we interfere?

We should feel kindly towards such people and pity them, knowing that they are talking out of ignorance. Even if we cannot feel genuine pity, we should certainly have no contempt for them. From what these people talk we should learn the lesson that we must think before finding fault with people, and remain neutral when someone not known to us is being criticized. Dorabji talked nonsense under the influence of liquor. As for the other two Muslims, why

¹ Parsee Dorabji

should they not have spoken out when they believed in it at heart?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy : Sabarmati Museum. Ahmedabad

307. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

CHI. MANILAL,

I had your letter. There was nothing worth replying to; so I saved time [by not writing]. What can I say if the family wants to travel and even if the children have to put up with the heat?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W.1438. Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi; also G.N. 5023

308. LETTER TO MANU H. GANDHI¹

Silence day

CHI. MANUDI,

Do you ever forget eating as you do writing to me? Do you write regularly to Ba? I hope you know that because of Ba's constant nursing, you had got up from your death-bed. So never forget Ba.

¹ From the contents it appears that this and the following letters were written in 1933; *vide* Vol. LIII, pp. 123-4 and Vol. LV, p. 108.

What exercises do you do? What do you read? How much arithmetic do you know? How much do you spin daily? Do you card[cotton] with hand?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1504. Courtesy : Manu S. Mashruwala

309. *LETTER TO MANU H. GANDHI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

Wednesday

CHI. MANU,

I have your letter. Improve your handwriting still further. Your letter pleases Ba more than me. Take care of your health. Pay attention to your studies. Do not make noise during prayers and in the kitchen.

Ba is all right now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 1501 Courtesy : Manu S. Mashruwala

310. *LETTER TO MANU H. GANDHI*

CHI. MANUDI,

It is certainly ordained that you sisters shall suffer. I would only say : May God grant you the strength to bear your lot.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 9734. Courtesy : Manubehn Mashruwala

311. LETTER TO GAURISHANKAR

BHAI GAURISHANKARJI,

I liked your book very much. I heartily congratulate you.
I honour your work of service. May it continue.

M.K. GANDHI

From a facsimile in *Aajkal*, April, 1982, p.26

312. LETTER TO DHIRU JOSHI

SIMLA,

CHI. DHIRU,

Why don't you write to me? What is your weight at present? Do you regularly join the prayers? Do you like doing so?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro - Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 304

313. LETTER TO VIMALA JOSHI

Tuesday

CHI. VIMU,

Your letter can be considered good for you. I thought you had completely forgotten me. Now keep writing. Grow strong quickly. You should go to the Ashram if you feel inclined. Write to me if you want.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 5308; also *Bapuna Patro - Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 301

314. LETTER TO D.B. KALELKAR

CHI. KAKA,

Herewith a beautiful letter from Bal¹.

You should be given a certificate as an expert in making dentures.

Shriman² has written and asked for exemption from having to come on the 2nd. I have replied that he need not come. We shall do without him. We shall think about selecting the six some other time. Why send for him in this weather?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10955

315. LETTER TO D.B. KALELKAR

CHI. KAKA,

1. How much fuel is consumed in the oven? Has it gone up or down after the use of the cooker? Do they do all the cooking at one time or does the kitchen fire burn in the afternoon also? Examine all this minutely. You have to finish the job while you are at the place. This can be arranged in a day or two.

2. How long are Gangabehn and Gomati going to stay? What is their purpose? What does Gangabehn want? What services can be taken from them? I could not ascertain all this as I had been observing my silence. Try to know about it and guide them.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7701

¹ Addressee's son

² Shriman Narayan Agrawal, son-in-law of Jamnalal Bajaj

316. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

[CHI.] KAKA,

Although the pressure of time is perhaps equally the same to us, I want to pass over from me to you. My opinion is that the matter of Talimi Sangh should be printed in *Harijanbandhu*. I am neutral regarding the changing [of the script] to *Nagari*. But to me it is not that that should not be done. Therefore, Mahadev only remains. Both of you discuss it. Since you are there, go there today itself for half an hour, have it discussed. If you have any hesitation write to me so that I shall have the talk.

5th July will do. Send a wire. Cannot we get a rosary of 108 beads in Wardha? I want four. Please inquire.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 7967

317. LETTER TO MR. KHAMBATTA

SABARMATI

DEAR MR. KHAMBATTA,

I thank you for the Rs. 1,000 note and the sentiments expressed in your letter. I am not sure that I am justified in accepting your contribution which is evidently not out of an overflowing purse. But I shall hope that you have not put yourself out for sending the donation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 7564; also C.W. 5039

318. *LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN*

BHAI BADSHAH KHAN,

I want a trustee for the Charkha Sangh who is a true Khudai Khidmatgar and also a Muslim. Who else can I find but you? Shall I make you a trustee?

BADSHAH KHAN

From the Hindi original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

319. *LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE*

CHI. PANDITJI,

I received your letter yesterday. Of course, you have my blessings for your new enterprise. We are bound to achieve success to the extent we make efforts. May your pupils imbibe music in their lives and learn that music is meant for service.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

320. *LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA*

CHI. K.C.,

It is our duty to do as Shakaribehn says. If after Sharadabehn comes Shakaribehn wants to cook separately, we must bear the expense. If Shakaribehn wants some fruit we must lovingly satisfy her. Shakaribehn has suffered much. Whether Sharda-behn pays anything or not is a separate question. We cannot insist on it. Her

parents are here. I am her grandfather. She reposes more trust in me. She should always be welcome. I want you to invite her too. I have already written.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4541

321. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

BHAI KRISHNACHANDRA,

Among all his activities, Tyagiji showed special preference for *brahmacharya* and Harijans. How nice it would be if in this [rainy]¹ season all the students and others of the Gurukul could be more firm on these two issues.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers . Courtesy : Pyarelal

322. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

Your recitation of the *Gita* is defective. You ought to read it absolutely correctly and sweetly. Strive to do so. You may seek guidance from anyone among us who knows the right style. This should be done quickly. I have spoken to Munnalal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 4543

¹ The word here in the original appears to be of ambiguous meaning.

323. *LETTER TO MADALASA*

CHI. MADALASA,

Don't get scared. One should not place oneself under the treatment of any Tom, Dick or Harry. Do only what the doctor advises.

No solid food must be given. If you do nothing but give fruit juice and glucose, give enemas, use mud-packs and ensure perfect quiet, the patient is bound to get well. I hope to come tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirwad, p. 318

324. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL*

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Do not fall prey to the mistaken notion that what belongs to others is good and what belongs to us is bad. Much that belongs to others is good. But there is more that is less than good. You will gradually realize that our good is better than what is bad.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

325. *LETTER TO CHHOTALAL MANSINGHA*

Sunday

BHAI CHHOTALAL MANSINGHA,

I have your letter. The decision will depend upon whether the sale of *Young India* is likely to increase if the price is reduced as

suggested by you. I have inquired.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5684

326. *LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA*

Tuesday [Before April 10, 1930]

CHI. KISHORELAL,

Received your letter. I shall of course note down your birthday. There is no need to come right now. I shall write to you when it is necessary. I am, no doubt, very eager to read your book. Now I shall be able to read it only in jail. How can I write a preface to such a book without reading? Let me see. There is, of course, Kaka. Improve your health. Nath is here, but I have not been able even to look at his face.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10717. Courtesy : Gomatibehn Mashruwala

327. *LETTER TO JIVRAJ MEHTA*

Wednesday, Pausa Sud

DEAR JIVRAJ,

Both of us seem to be in good health so far. The pain in my ribs has neither increased nor decreased. The weather has been very inclement. There should be some improvement tomorrow. My diet consists of fresh chapatis and fruits. I have not felt the need to have anything else. I would not forget your affection. You must have passed the examination. Keep writing to me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: Jivraj Mehta Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

328. *LETTER TO KUNVARJI V. MEHTA*

BHAI KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. Sitting here and not knowing your ailment, I cannot suggest a remedy. There is a general remedy of course. We should become absorbed in some activity beyond our capacity. Weakness of the brain can be cured by this means. One who is thus conscious of his duty will not neglect his work. Doing his work he will gain in virtues such as truthfulness, firmness, fearlessness and so on.

My health is all right. There is still some weakness, but it will go.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2666

329. *LETTER TO VIRJI MEHTA*

Shravan Sud 12

DEAR VIRJI,

Chi. Jeki refuses to come. I am giving her the permission. But if you and Chi. Jayashankar wish to understand her condition, it is your duty to come here and spend a couple of days. Business should not come in the way of true love. You should go to Durban at night if it is necessary to spend the night there. If you cannot go before Saturday, you should go on Saturday and return on Monday. I would like both of you to discuss the matter with Jeki. It is also your duty to do so.

I am not afraid of what people talk there. Since they have been provided a talking point, there would naturally be some talk. So far, I do not see anything wrong in the step I have taken. You can write to me freely whatever needs to be written. I shall not take it as

discourtesy, but I shall be grateful to you both. I can understand your sentiment.

Yours sincerely,

MOHANDAS

From the copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 1633. Courtesy : Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

330. LETTER TO VIRJI MEHTA

Monday

DEAR VIRJI,

I had told you that I shall send you Jeki's letters to read. As I have decided not to send the letters to Doctor, I am sending the original letters. Return them to me after you have both read them. The wound you two have inflicted on me cannot be easily healed. I have still a lot to tell you, but you have decided not to listen. In spite of that, I must be grateful to both of you. You both have taught me very fast the meaning of worldly wisdom. For the present at least my conscience tells me that as a result of what I have learnt from you, I shall always have a feeling of detachment towards worldly wisdom.

I have told you bitter things because you have called me your elder. I shall do so again when you give me an opportunity.

Yours sincerely,

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 1636. Courtesy : Gunavant Umiyashankar Mehta

331. *LETTER TO KHOOSHAL SOOKHA MISTRY*

BROTHER KHOOSHAL SOOKHA MISTRY,

Received your letter. I am doing my bit. There is another letter that Lallu Jogi is not in a position to pay instalments. I have written again.

M. K. GANDHI

MR. KHOOSHAL SOOKHA
182 QUEENS STREET
DURBAN

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 10210

332. *LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI*

BHAISHRI 5 RAMNIKLAL,

Now that you have recovered, do not fall ill again. You may go to Girnar, but tell Tarabehn that we must find our Girnar and our Ganga in the Ashram, and ultimately in our own hearts. I have seen many disgusting things happening in the caves of the Girnar. I have seen totally immoral people living there. I have seen the priest at Ambaji, who should be kept at an arm's length. If there is no peace in the mind, where can we find it? I have not written this to stop you from undertaking the journey to the Girnar but to tell you that even after going there peace has to be sought only in one place. There is no doubt that people find peace on visiting such places. But for you, such sacred places can only be instrumental. Peace can be found only within.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I hope to be there before the 1st of January.

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 4194

333. *LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL AND TARA MODI*

Silence day

CHI. RAMNIKLAL AND TARA,

It seems both of you are yet to recover properly. You must decide on the diet yourselves by observation. It would be nice if both of you followed the example of Shivaji, who had built his physical strength with the help of books. I think ultimately everyone must recognize his own body. Even a person like me can only talk about his own experiences. But it appears that each person's body has certain peculiarities. Hence only the person himself can carry out the necessary changes. You must also give thought to three things : hip-bath, sun-bath and light exercise. You must save the necessary time to recoup your health. Tara should not be impatient. If she can work only for four hours, she should consider it against dharma to give the fifth hour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 4193

334. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL*

LUCKNOW,
Silence day

BHAI MUNNALAL,

I have your letters with me. I do not have a moment to spare. The letters are difficult to answer. It is better that you adopt a course which your inner self prompts you to follow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8368

335. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have not received the letter which you would not decipher. You have forgotten. I shall rewrite if you send it. I have never considered you an insensitive being. I do not know how you got that idea. Looking at your unhappiness I would wish you would become insensitive and forget me. Absorb yourself in the work there and when God pushes you here, come without any condition. Ask forgiveness of those whom you have hurt without reason. Then you would feel ecstatic here and would not find it hard to live here. Come when your mind is in such a state that you cannot afford not to live here. I shall be happy if that day comes soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

336. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

STUPID DAUGHTER,

You are no longer stupid, because you have abandoned your stupidity. I like to hear you say that in the end, it is I who will understand. If that happens I shall dance with joy. But if I had time, I would answer every assertion in your letter. Not today. Some other time. I say that in the end you will admit your foolishness. You see everything where I see nothing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

though the mind appears calm on the surface, it is not in fact calm. That there are visions of things not related to experience, means, in my view, that apart from memory, there are many other things involved.

Q. 3 When work of service makes demands of one, sometimes it is not possible to pursue devotional activity. Is this harmful? What should be considered more important – service or recitation of God's name?

A. Whether it is the demands of work or even sterner demands, the recitation of the Ramanama may never be stopped. Its outward expression may be modified depending on the circumstances. Even if one does not count the beads, can Ramanama which is inscribed in the heart, be abandoned?

M.K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

237. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS¹

1. There is life and there is death. Freedom from all bondage is *moksha*.
2. He who considers himself in bondage is a bound person. It is attachment. He is bound by the bonds of attachment. Knowingly or unknowingly, he seeks freedom from it.
3. Freedom that needs replenishing is not freedom. He who is free is the best.
4. There is not the slightest external difference between a bound and a free man. A free man recognizes himself. Even while doing, he does not do, for he never yearns for reward. He does his deeds by force of the previous *sanskaras*².

¹ Posed by Maganbhai Shankerbhai Patel

² This is followed by a quotation in Sanskrit, which is not clear in the source.

339. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

[1927]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. You should certainly not spoil your health. You must do only as much work as you can do without straining yourself. Keep sending your diary. I get a lot even from that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9360

340. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am not getting your letters regularly. I must have them. I want your diary. How is your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9359

¹ This and the preceding letters appear to be of 1927, in which year the addressee had begun the practice of maintaining a diary; *vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp.346, 388 and 465.

341. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

CHI. VASUMATI

You must be keeping good health. Has that stupid one fallen in line? Are the studies proceeding? What is Shanta doing?

I shall not write more for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ba has returned from Rajkot.

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9311.

342. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Sunday morning

CHI. VASUMATI,

I learnt about your release. About [your] meeting [me] I learnt from your letter to Gangabehn. If I write more I would miss the posting time or the sleep which is weighing my eyes down.

Blessing from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9380.

343. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

I would expect to hear the description of how you are carrying out your new responsibility. Let me know the whereabouts of everyone. Are there noises at night? Even a moment's peace should not be allowed to be disturbed. Then I would not worry about how much and which responsibility you are shouldering. Do not think about what Bapu would like. Think about 'what I can do'.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 9381.

344. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter and also the one from Kishorelal. You need not have asked for pardon. Such mistakes are signs of our delusion. If you know this much that is enough. No one has escaped from delusion. We can only strive to get out of it.

I have understood the changes, you are making. Do everything thoughtfully. Then that should be all right. Don't let your improved health suffer a set-back. Remember what I have said. You should not render any service while suffering mental agony. You should not be afraid of hurting me. That should not worry you. I am not easily hurt and if hurt, I suffer only for a moment. Even that should not happen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9363.

345. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

Whatever changes have been made are appropriate. I am more confident because Gangabehn has started staying with you. The fact that Premabehn has mixed with everyone is a good thing according to me.

The situation about the prayers would continue to remain the same so long as it does not acquire life.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9315.

346. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Tuesday

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. God will take care of Ramdas.

You may come whenever you feel like. We shall look after Shanta here. It is good that Kusum would also accompany her.

Do you write to Devdas?

My health is fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9379.

347. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Tuesday

CHI. VASUMATI,

Whether I write or not, you have got to write regular letters to me. How did you get fever? It is time you became absolutely healthy now. Exert your body also only to the extent it can take the strain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9349

348. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received both your letters. I shall not use them for a public purpose. Can all letters be so used? I could not contain whatever I came to know. Right now everything is messed up. But everything will turn out well if all women are truthful. I am keeping fairly good health. Where has Manibehn gone? I am satisfied that your health is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9357

349. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

How are things? Are you two sisters together or have you made some other arrangement? You can write to me. Look after your health. Do not be perplexed. Do not worry. Tell Kamalabehn that she should also write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 9361.

350. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your Hindi letter too. We have won the world if you keep good health. Don't strain yourself by going to the kitchen. It will be all right if you go there at your own convenience. Your Hindi seems to have improved. I did not understand the first sentence. I had asked you to write, or were you reminded of your promise to write ? Have you written this letter to keep that promise? Your words are capable of both these interpretations.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 9364

351. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

CHI. VASUMATI,

Received your letter. It is all right. Stay there only for the present and improve your health. You are already having good company. Hence, the only complaint can be about the absence of my letter, is it not? I shall not leave any cause for that complaint. Moreover, the climate would soon be cold there.

Let us see what happens when I go to Ahmedabad in July. Come there if you cannot help.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9366

352. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

CHI. VASUMATI,

I hope you are not expecting letters from me even when Kishorelal and Prabhavati write to you? If you do expect, how can I cope with it? You went there to fall ill, is it? Now get well quickly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 9368

353. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

Lately there has been no letter from you at all. Even my last letter has not been replied to. You must have recovered your health.

Now we shall meet soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9353

354. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Sunday

CHI. VASUMATI,

I had expected your telegram saying you had reached. You must have reached there safely. I would be a little anxious till you settle there. You must definitely drop me a post card every day. What do you eat? How are keeping? What are your activities? How is your health? You must give me all this news. Do not hesitate to ask anything whatever.

Things are going on the same way here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9374

355. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. It is not possible to write more

today. If you are at peace, there is no harm in staying there only. The key to health lies in being at peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9376

356. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. I am writing this before the posting time only to tell you that I remember you.

Blessings from

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9314

357. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Shivratri

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have received your letter. You have done well to start (playing) the sitar. If your health becomes all right, everything can be afforded. I like your resolve to adhere to whatever you have taken up. In my opinion, a person who cannot sing, i.e., who cannot recognize the tune, cannot play an instrument. God alone knows how far this is right. Or Panditji¹ knows.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N.9378

¹ Narayan Moreshwar Khare

358. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence day

CHI. VASUMATI,

I could not find time even to talk a little this time. Could there be anything to talk? I saw that you have not yet gone to the new room. After realizing that I have permitted you unhesitatingly, you may continue to stay where you are. You must make full use of the *Jodani Kosh*¹ while writing Gujarati.

I hope now there are no noises at night.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9373

359. *LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PANDYA*

Y[ERAVDA] P[RISON]

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

You have asked me why the work of the removal of untouchability is proceeding at a slow pace. The reason is clear. What is not found elsewhere is found here. Understanding and explaining the point that irreligion has taken the place of religion is bound to take time. Moreover, it requires immense powers of penance to show that what is known as religion is irreligion. Those who would show it unmistakably should be the embodiments of religion themselves. None of us is that. We are possessed with attachments and jealousies. We are given to physical passions. We do not love evil men, we have no courage, no restraint. Hence, who would take us seriously? This requires less of intellectual power. What is needed is spiritual strength. If you consider other constructive works you will clearly see the distinction I have made.

¹ Gujarati dictionary published in 1929

Have patience and inculcate the qualities indicated above.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9783. Courtesy : Bhagwanji Pandya

360. *LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PANDYA*

Y[ERAVDA]P[ERISON]

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

Balwant Singh wants to go to Deoli tomorrow. Let him go. He will return on Wednesday. Harilal will take charge. Help him. Ask for the accounts tonight. Jaggery and sugar arrived yesterday; weigh these items and determine the price and pay the money to Jajuji and debit the amount to the kitchen account. Put the jaggery and sugar in earthen pots tomorrow and tie up the tops of the pots well.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9787. Courtesy : Bhagwanji Pandya

361. *LETTER TO BHAU PANSE*

CHI. BHAU,

I feel that it is harmful to carry the restrictions about food very far and say that it is irreligious to take potatoes and religious to take wheat [preparations]. It is enough to decide what diet is appropriate to keep one's body clean and healthy. Its relation with physical *brahmacharya* has got to be understood.

If *roti* causes constipation, it should be given up for the present. You should take milk along with vegetables and fruits. It has been my experience that milk is digested easily if taken with vegetables. If even milk causes hardship in passing motion, then you should subsist

on fruits and leafy vegetables. These would not cause any harm. If necessary, you can drop me a postcard every day.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 4498. Courtesy: Not known

362. *LETTER TO DAHIBEHN R. PATEL*

Silence day

CHI. DAHIBEHN,

Enhance the prestige of presidentship. With your open-hearted nature you will certainly glorify it. You should cease to worry about anything and should take fresh air as much as you can. Then you will not have epilepsy, etc. Do not worry even about the responsibility you have undertaken. If you have accepted that burden is the name of Rama then Rama will carry that burden. There is no rule that a semi-literate cannot become the president. The one who is liberal, who has equal love for all, who is temperate, is in every way fit to be the president.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9208

363. *LETTER TO LALITA PATEL*

CHI. LALITA,

I would certainly write letters to the girls who write to me. It was good to receive your letter. Continue to write like that. Many boys were caught telling lies. Have you also been caught along with them? Write to me if you are given to telling lies. There is nothing to hide in that.

Tell Kamala that I had expected much from her. But right now I see very little of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 9219

364. *LETTER TO MANGALABEHN PATEL*

Silence day, BORSAD

CHI. MANGALA,

I have your letter. The news is correct. You are not scared on hearing about Kamubehn, are you? We have learnt not to be scared of death and to treat birth and death alike. He who is born, dies, and he who dies is born. Where then is the reason to feel sad?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 11104. Courtesy : Pushpa Naik

365. *LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL*

IN MOVING TRAIN

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have received all your letters. I shall reply when I am free. I am helpless till I find some time.

Certainly there should be picketing of the main godown at Anand. *Tongawallas* and others cannot be boycotted right now. They can be persuaded. Immediate boycott would mean violence. A minute dose of *somal* given with love can be life-saving. But a gram of *somal* given with envy can take life.

From the photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9012

366. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have received your letter. Now it is midnight and hence I shall not be able to give you detailed replies. I am thinking about sending Maganbhai. I shall try to send you a reply tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

RAOJIBHAI
SATYAGRAHA CAMP
NADIAD

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 9013

367. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL

Silence day [1932-1933]

CHI. NAUGHTY SHANTA,

Is it called coercion or slavery if one abides by the rules of the institution in which one lives? Does freedom mean doing what one's whim dictates? Is there no joy in the Ashram? If it is not there, do you think you can settle the account by being self-willed for a day? But now in the context of Kamala's widowed state you must have forgotten about taking leave. I have written to Shankarbhai that Kamala should come over here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 4062

368. *LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL*

Monday Night, WARDHA

CHI. SHANTA,

Since you have written me two letters, I too must write. Now that you are studying and spinning, you will have to be called a good girl. Be such a good girl always. Write letters to me. You must always write with good spacing and clearly.

Do not take chillies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9418

369. *LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL*

Tuesday

CHI. SHANTA,

Vasumatibehn writes that now you are taking some interest in your studies. Keep your mind on studies. Write to me in clean hand in ink. That also is a part of studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9419

370. *LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL*

Tuesday

CHI. SHANTA,

It will not do if you do not study. Can one ever feel lazy about studying? You must always study regularly even if it is little. May be chillies are causing constipation. You must take some fruit with milk and drink plenty of water.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 9420

371. *LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL*

CHI. SHANTA,

I could not talk to you at all. I wanted to talk lots of things. Now you write to me to your heart's content and open your mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4051

372. LETTER TO SHANTA S. PATEL¹

To be sent to Shanta (Shankarbhai's) without reading

CHI. SHANTA,

Received your letter. There is no harm at all in going round with any man, particularly a married man, if you regard him as your brother. But in view of bitter experiences, and because such company is rare in our country, people condemn such a practice. Where one has the permission from parents, there is no need to bother about public criticism. But where a man or a woman becomes habituated to the company of the opposite sex, it is necessary to be cautious in spite of the initial innocent relationship. It is another matter if such a relationship is naturally built up. But it happens rarely. The common and wonderful rule is that a woman should seek a woman's company and a man should seek a man's company. Who can negate the distance that nature has created between man and woman? Be sure that it is futile to marry out of a desire for friendship and after doing that not to have sexual relations. It is quite possible that a man and a woman may avoid sexual relations after getting married with the desire to have such relations. We can see that happening in the Ashram. But where there is no desire at all for such indulgence, where is the need for marriage? Does not marriage mean a desire to be something more than brother and sister? That very thing is wrong. But if you want to have a sexual relationship, do not deceive your mind. There is nothing wrong in it. Tell me. Tell Shankarbhai. Try to exercise restraint during the quarrel. Write to me frankly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4063

¹ *Vide* also Vol. LI, pp. 362-3.

373. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

Silence day

CHI. PRABHAKAR,

We always come across... ¹ and in many forms. There is only one remedy for it. Our lives should become virtuous so that we become pure and influence others. If you wish to say anything more, tell me everything during the evening walk. I will reply in writing.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi in Gujarati script : G.N. 9018

374. LETTER TO PRABHAKAR

BARDOLI

This is just to say that H[industani] music and *Ramayana* would be all right. I hope you and Govindrao are keeping good health. This letter may be taken to have been addressed to all to whom I have not written.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi in Gujarati script : G.N. 9019

¹ A word here is unintelligible.

375. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have received your letters. I have no time today to write anything more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 3334

376. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am writing this much in a very perturbed state of mind. I am in no position to argue. I have come to realize that I should not argue. It is enough that my instructions are carried out. In taking you to Simla, I may take less work from you, but there is plenty to be done on the way. And even at Simla, my physical needs are there. Now I shall do as you say.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

377. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

Saturday

CHI. PYARELAL,

Are you planning to accompany me tomorrow or do you want

to stay here?

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

378. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

CHI. PYARELAL,

Manu has read out this letter. It is now 8.15 in the night. I am tired, hence this is all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

379. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have written to you after great thought. Keep my last post-card with you. We shall consider further in Delhi. So, keep yourself ready. About the mail you can consult Sushila and then decide. It seems to me we shall have to come here from Delhi. The rest is up to God.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

Tuesday, 1.30 a.m.

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am writing this is pencil. You must make do with it. I had intended to write sooner, but I have had to endure a lot of pain during the day. For Sushila I have taken mother's place. As a mother becomes distraught when the daughter is out of her sight, so is it with me. But only when I am thus moved will I be entitled to take some service from Sushila.

But Sushila is altogether disorganized. She may be a genius. But a genius moulds others in his own image. He is not moulded by others. I am trying to mould Sushila after myself. But at times I wonder if Sushila is not wholly unaffected. I would consider my efforts in vain if she were observing punctuality, which I am inculcating in her with so much care, only to please me. What I am hoping is that what Sushila is learning from me will remain with her even when she is away and that it will influence mother and the rest of the family too. Your way is of course different. But if Sushila became genuinely strong, may be even you would start observing rules for her sake. I do not at all approve of your working till midnight. It is not as if I was letting you do it because I am in need of it. It is because I am afraid of you. What if Pyarelal should feel hurt and throw up everything? So I do not say anything. But I think you are going too far in making even Sushila keep late hours. I know that nobody else can give you the satisfaction she can give. You can take work from her at fixed hours during the day. I would even like it. She can give up the night massage and work for you at night till 9.30. I see many minutes and hours of her time being wasted. But how far can I control her? With that thought in mind I do not interfere.

The purpose of writing this is only to know what you wish about Sushila. I shall abide by your wish. If you approve of what I am doing and if she follows it with interest and knowledge, I shall need all help from you. It would be beyond me to tolerate her again going to bed at 12.15.

Let me also make another demand. After dinner everybody should go to sleep. And you should not work at night. I shall be

content with what you can give during the day.

Both you brother and sister should consider this carefully and inform me about your decision. Sushila should not feel that I am putting on her more than necessary pressure so that she loses her independence. There is certainly this much difference between Mother and me. It is Sushila's duty to remain within the limits Mother lays down. It is not her duty to offer anything to me. Whatever she offers she should offer with her whole heart--nothing at all to please me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

381. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

Wednesday

DEAR BROTHER,

I have received your gift. I cannot say to what extent I shall be able to make use of it. Do not worry at all that you could not come for my birthday. Your good wishes are always with me.

We have constructed a *tandoor* here in which we make very good *rotis*. I am sending a sample. They are of two kinds: one with a little salt and the other without salt. I can send more if you want to see them with a view to their use in the household.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11129. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

382. *LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI*

Wednesday , SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI

DEAR BROTHER,

I have received your letter. Since you have left no scope for me to refuse, please send the car. Ultimately, one man has won against two women, because poor Indu had also excused me.

I have written this with the left hand.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Your Gujarati is becoming sweet.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11130. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

383. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Silence day, Wardha

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I got your telegram regarding Keshavlal. I had expected to hear from him today. But there has been no letter. So I take it everything is all right. See to it that he resumes going to work only after recovering fully.

Here the air is cool and good. How nice it would be if you were here!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32787

384. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Tuesday

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I am a little worried because you were to come the next day. And it is now four days. I hope you are not ill. If you are, do let me know. It is needless to write if you are all right. Of course, I know you will come as soon as you are free.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32775

385. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Friday

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

If you have not been able to see Vallabhbbhai so far and if you think it is proper, I would like you to go and see him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32802

386. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Sunday

PUJYA ANASUYABEHN,

I have just heard that Narhar had fallen into a well but he has been rescued and is conscious and well. I have sent Mahadev over

there. Do not get into a flutter, but go there. Thereafter come and see me.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32808

387. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Thursday

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I have your letter. Most probably I will leave from here on Sunday evening and reach there on Monday morning at 6 o'clock. Please send the car.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32767

388. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Sunday

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

Pratap Pandit should be returning to Bombay this evening by the Gujarat Mail. Please send the car for him at 7.30 p.m. Sir Prabhashanker Pattani is here these days. Come over in a day or two and meet him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32771

389. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Monday

RESPECTED ANASUYABEHN,

You of course have my blessings if I can bless you. I do not know how I have been able to accept love. It is my great desire that you have Mirabai's power and devotion. You can have both these provided you can maintain your health Bhai Shankar . . . ¹.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : G.N. 11579

390. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

SEGAON, WARDHA

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

If the water for the hip-bath is not cooler than the body temperature then cool it by putting some ice. Use the special thermometer which is available for the purpose. It is cheap. It is fixed to a wooden frame. The body temperature is 99°; so it is better to have a water temperature of 98°. Being unaccustomed to it you may get a shock . In that case put the ice after you are seated in the water. Sit as long as you like. You can continue for half an hour, while rubbing the abdomen with a light hand. Use the mud-packs only at night. What kind of tea do you drink? There is no harm in it if it is of light straw colour. Stronger than that may prove harmful. Tea leaves should not be put directly into the water. They should be kept in a strainer and boiling water should be poured over it. There is no harm in taking such tea. Lemon juice with honey in hot water will serve the purpose of tea.

¹ Omissions indicate damage in the source

The other diet seems all right. The less starch you consume the better. You can't take yam, etc. You may eat all varieties of gourds, brinjal, etc. Leafy vegetables such as *tandaljo* are best.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32790

391. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Saturday

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I have your letter. It is possible that Vallabhbhai is at fault in his dealings with the workers. But you cannot say for that reason there is authoritarianism in Gujarat. I can, however, understand your anger arising from anguish. I hear praise for Vallabhbhai in news wherever I get it from. Sitting here I feel the same way about his work. Man is full of faults. Vallabhbhai may have made mistakes. We must try and understand them. And our dharma consists in drawing his attention if we can, to these mistakes so that he may rectify his faults. If he does not mend himself, we should not get angry but remain patient. So much for your general criticism.

Now about the workers. Did you or Shankerlal meet Vallabhbhai in person? If so, did you speak your mind freely to him? You should not fight shy of being snubbed. We should quarrel with Vallabhbhai if justice has to be got done. Friendship consists in that and so does training for public life. In public institutions, those whom we consider our opponents are sometimes really that, but often they are friends. We should regard both kinds as equals and seek justice from them. In the immediate present, I do not expect much from the owners. Our views are so divergent that they cannot be easily reconciled. We should be content to take from them as much as we can or fight them. What I like best is that the workers should build their own *chawls*. But is that possible at present? However, I feel that even if a small number of workers come forward to do so, we should

encourage it. If you are hesitant to write to Vallabhbhai about what you should get from him, let me know and I shall do so readily. So far I have not written to him. If you can manage that on your own, there will be no need for me to write. Both of you should reflect on this and let me know. I shall then do what I feel is proper.¹

[I quote] the above so that you can act upon what you believe in from among the things you read. Ponder over it and cool down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 32793

392. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI²

SEGAON, WARDHA

CHI. MRIDU,

I received your letter after a long time. I had expected you to come for the Working Committee. When I asked Jawaharlal I learnt that you and Lakshmi Babu had not been invited this time.

You have given good information about the family. From one point of view, Veena can be said to have made a good choice. Your brothers and sisters would not do anything without the blessings of the elders. All of you can get their blessings easily. I have not seen other parents taking care of the freedom of their children. My blessings to Veena and Madan Mohan.

You may come any time you want.

I have understood about the Muslims. It is correct.

Your letter to the Trade Union is beautiful. I shall think more when that work comes to me. There is the Gujarati typewriter. Is

¹ Gandhiji follows this with a quotation from *Bhagavad Gita*, Ch. XII, 18 and 19.

² The contents point to the year 1936; *vide* Suppl. Vol.III, pp. 68 and 72.

there [Gujarati] shorthand too?

Have you written your letter with a reed or with a new pen? Your handwriting is thick and though appearing big, is confusing. It cannot be called clear. I found it difficult to read. I am sending back one page with my scribbling. Perhaps with that you will understand my point better. You have still many years before you. If you try right from now, you would write a handwriting which would be beautiful like pearls. Do not say to yourself that this is like the pot calling the kettle black. It is because my handwriting is bad that I at once notice the bad handwriting of others.

It is good news that Mummy has got well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11267. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

393. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

Monday

CHI. MRIDULA,

Mahadev told me about the difficulty you have in obtaining slivers. If you want special slivers, I can send you. But it would of course be better for you to do the carding yourself. It is very easy to learn carding. You can learn the technique when you come here, or a teacher can be sent there. The time it takes to spin is ten times longer than the time it takes to card. It means that half an hour's carding would suffice for ten day's spinning. Anyone who does not know carding can never be said to know spinning. But in writing this I do not intend to add to your burden. You must do only as much as you can do and what you have time to do.

I hope all you brothers and sisters are serving your mother.

I get *roti* regularly.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11118. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

394. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

Jeth vad 8

CHI. MRIDULA,

You have never been absent from my thoughts. Your album is constantly with me. I have been late in writing not because I thought that you being a child, delay would not matter, but because I could not decide what I should write. Writing for you was as difficult as it was easy to write for *Navajivan*. I have now written it and today I have forgotten where and how it should be sent. I shall ask the elder sister when she comes. I shall follow her advice. Mother will have fully recovered.

Blessings to all of you from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11107

395. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

Tuesday, SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI

DEAR SISTER,

Mahadev is somewhere in the Ashram, but I do not know where. I have read your note. Please go to the station if you can. There is no need to escort Dr. Ansari to the Ashram. It will be enough if you can arrange to have him brought here. Jamnalalji and Zakir Husain will be accompanying him.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11154. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

396. *LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI*

Monday, ANDHERI

DEAR SISTER,

Radha has just informed me that you are feeling very weak and so would be going to Simla. I was very sorry to hear about your illness. I pray to God that you may regain your health quickly. I have never forgotten your priceless love. I have always thought of you and the children. I was looking forward to meeting you here, but now I shall hope to see you only after you recover and come back. In the meantime, I shall remember your love and shall try to qualify myself for such true affection.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11156. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

397. *LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI*

Tuesday

DEAR SISTER,

The courier brought your letter as I was about to set out for a walk with our guest. If you can send the man tomorrow, that is, on Wednesday, I shall let you know my opinion after seeing the letter.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W.11157. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

398. *LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI*

Vasant Panchami, SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI

DEAR SISTER,

What shall I write to you? I cannot spurn the affection of both of you and at the same time, it embarrasses me to accept what you as also have sent for Ramdas as also the sweets. I am keeping both for the time being. May your love be directed not to me but to my work.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11155. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

399. *LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH*

Silence day, Y.M.

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I am writing to you merely for the sake of writing. What need I write to you? Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10660

400. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

Y.M.

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Received your frank letter. The best medicine for you is that

you ...¹ This universe is like a big machine. If its various components do not observe the rules the machine will break down. One who does not observe the rules will certainly not become a part of the machine and therefore "he will perish like a scattered cloud"². My advice to you is that you should live in the Vidyapith the way your inner self guides you. Find peace of mind anyhow.

There is truth in what you write about prayers. We are all seekers. No one is perfect. Therefore there is no limit to our shortcomings. But our dharma is clear.

"God's whole creation, living and non-living, contains both good and evil. The wise accept the good and leave the evil (like the swan) which drinks the milk and leaves the water behind."

Keep writing to me.

Blessing from
BAPU

From a photostat of Gujarati : G.N. 8606.

401. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

CHI. MUNNALAL,

This is something you must find today. When it is needed for a patient you must get it even at the cost of some inconvenience. Of course carrots and leafy vegetables are there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8377

¹ Two words are illegible here.

² *Bhagavad Gita*, VI, 38.

402. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

Silence day, SODEPUR,

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter.

I like it that you are absorbed in work. I have, of course, replied to your earlier letter.

Keep your mind, body and speech pure while you are there. I am glad that you are there. Its good too that your mother-in-law has come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8372

403. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

CHI. MUNNALAL,

What about the curd today? Three day's stale curd cannot be served. You should calmly have a talk with everyone. Do not write to the doctor. Tell me whatever you have to say. The doctor is himself disturbed and is old. He must be spared.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8515

236. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS*¹

Q.1 Is it possible to recite Ramanama from the heart even while talking to someone, doing arduous mental work or when mentally perturbed? If people do so even under such conditions, how do they manage it?

A. Experience tells us that whatever the situation a person may be in, even if he may be asleep, if he has formed the habit, and if Ramanama fills his heart, recitation of Ramanama will continue as long as the heart beats. Otherwise, it may be said that he utters Ramanama only with his lips, or if occasionally it enters the heart, it certainly does not reign in the heart. When Ramanama rules the heart, it is needless to ask how the recitation is carried on. For, when the Name has found a place in the heart, recitation is superfluous. It would be correct to say that those whose hearts are thus permeated by Ramanama are few. I have no doubt that Ramanama does indeed possess the power attributed to it. Not everyone can have Ramanama inscribed in his heart by merely wishing it. It requires a tireless effort and also patience. How can one find the philosopher's stone without patience? Ramanama is superior to it.

Q. 2 Is it from a certain mental weakness that one sees so many layers of the mind, or is it necessary for the mind to pass through all these stages before reaching a state of steadiness? Why is it that even in the waking state dreamlike visions come and go? How is it that phantoms of things never experienced in life appear in the mind or echo in the heart?

A. Before arriving at steadiness of mind almost everyone has to pass through stages enumerated in the question. That is to say, those who have in the former life striven without achieving success will not need to pass through agony in the present birth. When the mind is calm but one still has dream-like experiences, it only means that

¹ In this section of undated items, letters and notes from Gandhiji to individuals have been put together in the alphabetical order of surnames, as it has not been possible to establish conclusive evidence of the period to which they belong. However, an occasional inference as regards the date of an item is ventured in a footnote to the title.

407. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

For now I can only ask people, make enquiries. The straight answer to your question is that I must have my separate kitchen. The rule about the guests¹

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8376

408. *LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I have compared myself to an ass. It is said that however much you flog an ass he will remain what he is. In some respect that is true of me also. It seems I shall never give up my asinine nature. I liked your letter. It reveals your anger no doubt but it also reveals your simplicity. I therefore gave it to the concerned persons to read. On realizing my mistake, I should have done what was necessary to set it right. Your letter has not been given a simple meaning. I had expected that everyone would ignore the exaggeration and read it with due corrections. I failed in that. Now I am giving you these letters. The wrong will be righted if you can laugh over it, learn a lesson from it and get everyone to laugh over it. If you do not have that capability then forget about the letters. I will think over them and see how the train can be put back on the rails.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8322

¹ The letter is incomplete.

409. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You have given a good summary. It can be improved upon. But for the time being it will do for you. Do not be impetuous or impatient. Lethargy developed over the years cannot go in a moment. The lethargy primarily was from my side in overlooking so many things. I intend not doing so any more.

Rest when I receive your next [summary]. It is possible to solve Dharendra's problem without bothering Jajuji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8374

410. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Although the [blood] pressure has gone up, I must write to you. Your letter is very long but the thing is . . .¹ work and Kanchan . . .² I have already given to you. When I have not entrusted you with anything, you should observe silence and spin. Either you should completely forget Kanchan or set up a home with her. If you read the *Gita* put it into practice. The soul alone is the refuge of the soul.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8237

¹ & ² Omissions as in the source

411. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI H. SHAH

Kartik Vad 1

BHAI PUNJABHAI,

I have your letter. It does not matter if you give up hip-bath. It is sufficient if you continue with the mud-packs. Take buttermilk only in the quantity you like to have. Take sugarcane and oranges as much as you like.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 4012

412. NOTE TO PUNJABHAI H. SHAH

Every time the enemy attacks, we must think of the nature of the attack and keeping in mind the bodily structure, drive back the enemy. Why is the soul related to the body? You must realize that it is not for the satisfaction of physical passions.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4019

413. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI H. SHAH

CHI. PUNJABHAI,

I have your letter. You will have regained your health. I was relieved to know that you would come over as soon as you recovered. You must listen carefully to what I say and then do as seems right to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 4018

414. LETTER TO SHANKARBHAI

DEAR SHANKARBHAI,

I may not be able to convince you as regard temple entry, but how can you, on account of that activity, abandon me like others? Temple entry is not a new activity for me; still on occasion I have been able to get help from you. Shankerlal says that now he is not able to have any help from you for Harijan work. I hope that except for temple entry, you will certainly provide funds for other activities.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32754

415. LETTER TO JANGBAHADUR SINGH

WARDHA

BHAI JANGBAHADUR SINGH,

I have your letter. Do come over. You will stay at Nalwadi Ashram, which is a mile away from Wardha, and learn carding, weaving, etc. More when you arrive.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1336

416. LETTER TO UMAR SOBHANI

Wednesday

DEAR UMAR SOBHANI,

I must inform you that Bhai Shankerlal has eaten nothing since yesterday. Why are you being obstinate? You would not humiliate

yourself by confessing your mistake. Those who do not confess their mistakes fall -- they are humiliated. You have made me a leader. Can a soldier cheat his captain? I really suspect that you have cheated me. Is it not your duty to dispel that suspicion? I am afraid Bhai Shankarlal would go hungry till your matter is clarified. Even if you consider me a brother, you should satisfy me. I wish you would come over.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 32764

417. LETTER TO SURENDRA

Silence day

CHI. SURENDRA,

I have received your letter. I have written about the tannery in my letter to Ramniklal. It irks me also that we could not talk. But there was no alternative. You have taken my worry about the tannery off my mind. Hence I was not impatient to talk.

I do not think you have to permanently remain at Ranchi. But I do think it necessary that a couple of responsible persons should learn that art.

Encourage the students who can take consolation from you. Do not avoid ladies altogether. Be guided by Nathji in the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 3133

418. LETTER TO SURENDRA

Monday

CHI. SURENDRA,

Once again there has been no letter from you. शनैः शनैः परमेद् बुद्ध्या धृति गृहीतया। Slowly is a good word. One can achieve nothing in a hurry. We have to be patient and firm. Everything will be all right in the course of time. Bearing that in mind, observe the happenings and do as much as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3132

419. NOTES FOR SURENDRANATH¹

9. The instinctive qualities attributed to the soul are the *gunas* of the individual. He who possesses the quality of maximum calm is *sattvika* or righteous. He who possesses the quality of maximum disquiet is *rajasi* or passionate. And he who lacks in both these qualities and is also wanting in awareness or knowledge is *tamasi*; which signifies darkness and ignorance.

10. Every wise person must possess the same qualities. He may appear to be impractical, but in reality, he is not so.

11. Ba is still so stupid that she does not understand even common duty. It pained me. There was only pity behind it.

12. The body can certainly reach the state of absolute *brahmacharya* and absolute truth. There can be no freedom from unavoidable violence like breathing.

13. That a passionless, perfect man should commit a blunder is a contradiction in terms like a son being born to a barren woman. It is possible that man would become free in spite of wearing foreign clothes. But let us not attain freedom by wearing foreign clothes.

¹ Reproduced as serialised in the source

14. A one-sided statement that the Buddha did not attain emancipation only because he ate non-vegetarian food cannot be true.
15. A person who has controlled the senses ultimately becomes incapable of sensual pleasures. But that is the capacity of the strong.
16. With growing compassion, there is greater calm, because then one is experiencing pain. It is the calm resulting from a sense of duty. Hence, a saintly man experiences calm in the midst of disquiet.
17. Truth means existing at all times. That passionless state pertains to *Brahman*. Hence it is that Truth is *Brahman*.
18. Self-introspection means constant awareness about the existence of soul, etc.
19. Being omniscient means having complete knowledge of soul. Liberation means absolute detachment with regard to worldly existence. Equanimity means being unconcerned about pleasure and pain, non-possession, neutrality, being and non-being, a state of nothingness, liberation.
20. Kindness, compassion, grace, love, justice. All prevailing everywhere in totality.
 Doer : One who does. A cobbler is not the doer of shoes.
 Equanimous : fair-minded.
21. Some other time.
22. The meaning of the first part is not clear. I have not yet come across a perfect *brahmachari*. Perfect *brahmachari* means an absolutely passionless man or woman.
23. Being unselfish is discarding selfishness. If we eliminate the self, we become selfless. Being unhappy at the unhappiness of the world means to continue to serve without any reward. Renouncing the world for the sake of the soul. Even while interpreting to simply mean that we should renounce the world for *moksha*, it means that the world should be renounced even for the sake of the protection of the body. The soul is very often said to mean both the body and the physical. Where its meaning as the body creates a wrong impression, it should be taken to mean the physical.

BAPUJI

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 8853. Courtesy : Not known

420. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

I want to prove to the Government and the tyrant that non-violence is a successful means; that through it, every proper thing, including independence, can be gained. This is the greatest task of my life and I should get complete freedom to act accordingly.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p.151

421. *LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI*

CHI. KASHINATH,

I do not understand how I forgot about writing a letter to Kalavati. It is possible that since I had wanted to write, I must have taken it for granted that I had written it, and in fact it must have remained unwritten. I do not think the letter to Shanta still remains to be written. Still I am writing. I am also writing to Kalavati today. The one who has become aware of his soul does do karma but does not think that the burden lies on him. He should never feel that way. A person sold into slavery does everything, yet keeps no responsibility on his head. Once we realize this, we would feel ourselves light as flowers. Give consolation to Nathmalji on my behalf. I feel like describing the process of going to the place, where everyone has to go, by some name other than death. Convey my blessings to all inmates in jail.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5286

422. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Monday

CHI. GANGABEHN,

There was no letter from you this week. I hope your health is all right.

It will still be some time before I visit the Ashram. My spirit of course is there. We also have daily prayers and use the same hymns that are used for morning and evening prayers there. In the morning the time also is the same. We spin here, too, just as you do there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 8829. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya.
Also G.N. 11385

423. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Received your letter. It is good that you have recovered quickly. Your reassurance has dispelled my anxiety. There is no time for the present to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

Bapuna Patro-6, Gangabehnne p.18. Also G.N.11266

424. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZHAVERI

Saturday

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have received both your letters. I opened them myself and then

tore them up. It does not matter that you have wasted two postage stamps. Write frankly whatever you want to write. As for me, I saw in your letter itself the picture you have given of yourself. Man can never hide himself with his own language. The more he conceals himself, the more he reveals. Artificiality eats up man. I did not have any charges to make against you. But I wrote to you because I did not feel you were simple-hearted and I did not get that impression from your letter either. The reasons for it are the same that you mention. Having known them, they have to be removed. It can be done with practice. We can say we have acquired knowledge only when we can derive joy from whatever situation we may be in. In my view, your present circumstances are favourable. Seeking more facilities will mean being self-willed.

I only wish to give you true happiness even if it means hurting you. I am interested in your true happiness.

Rather than be agitated, you should be cheerful, welcome my letters as medicine. Everything will turn out well and your pain also will go.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3130

425. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZHAVERI

Tuesday, Y.M.

CHI. GANGABEHN ZHAVERI,

What are you both doing there at present? Tell Mithubehn to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : G.N. 3127

426. A NOTE

There are opportunities for service everywhere. A kind word spoken at the right moment is good service. Even a kind thought that would translate itself into action is good service. It is idolatry to think that there is no service but what is rendered through the body.

From a copy. C.W. 11329. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

427. A NOTE

It is unreasonable to expect coincidence of views. Mutual respect and toleration is the only thing one may expect and for one's own part must cultivate.

From a copy. C.W. 11327. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

428. A NOTE

Every minute of my time I am fully conscious of the fact that if those who have consecrated their lives to khadi will not incessantly insist on purity of life, khadi is bound to stink in the nostrils of our countrymen.

From a photostat : S.N. 15851

429. A NOTE

As I said I should stay specially for the talk or talks if we could not finish in time. In any case I see that I can't leave before 7th if by then the constitution work is finished. Tomorrow we may talk to

begin with between 1-2.

I have said up to 2 for the constitution committee but let us keep 1-30 to 2-30.

From a copy: Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

430. A NOTE

You should simply do what duty demands and nothing more. If she is obstinate and dies let her die and die disgraced. If she is right and the right is not vindicated in her lifetime, the death will be a fit atonement. I shall certainly bring all these things to her notice.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

431. A NOTE

I have written to Brijkishan¹. Big book, Nature Cure. You have suggested all these changes, and now what is this? That is why I say that these are the changes.

I have read it in great detail. I only wanted to understand. I have understood. I have accepted whatever was worth accepting. Go through it and send it on.

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 7261

¹ Brijkrishna Chandiwalla

432. A NOTE

I should have one copy for myself, is it not? How long will its translation take? I have no doubt about the growing poverty. But the details given by you are not sufficient to prove it. In order to launch the struggle, it is not enough to have conviction ourselves. We must also have the capacity to accomplish it.

If I had to start the struggle, I would have first gathered the equipment for it. But now let Vallabhbhai examine the situation. I would not dare to involve the people in the struggle depending on such scanty evidence. There should generally be enlightened public opinion behind satyagraha. Not everybody would be as foolish as you. A word is enough for the wise. For the foolish, cartloads of papers would not be sufficient.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 11449

433. A NOTE

Zohra¹ is to be sent to Indore. She needs an escort up to Khandwa. You will find many persons travelling there. Take her to the station and entrust her to somebody. If you do not find anybody going to Khandwa, you will surely find someone going to Bhusawal. At Bhusawal he can put her on the train going to Khandwa and entrust her to somebody going there. He should be someone reliable. If this is possible, take her today or tomorrow.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3241

¹ Zohra Ansari

434. A NOTE

Serving women for their uplift means

(a) Drawing their attention to social evils like child marriage, marriage of old men with young girls, sale of daughters, meaningless community feasts, lewd dancing, bringing up of young girls in sin in the name of religion, marrying of young widows, the purdah system etc., and encouraging them to do away with them.

(b) Spreading true female education.

(c) Many women starve because they are unemployed and many are driven by hunger to sell their virtue. To prevent this, propagate spinning among them and spread the use of khadi produced thereby.

(d) Education of boys and girls is a special duty of women. We must draw their attention to it and prepare them for the task.

(e) Set up and run ashrams to carry out this and other similar tasks.

(f) Publish papers, bulletins or books.

(g) Try to regain for women their rights wherever they have been deprived of these rights by law or custom.

NOTE. So long as they have not earned self-respect it is forbidden to acquire these rights through government or legislative measures.

(h) Campaign among menfolk for the attainment of these objectives and encourage them to do their duty.

From the Gujarati original : Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy : Sabarmati Ashram Museum, Ahmedabad

435. A NOTE

She is haughty beyond words. In spite of her bad spelling only she would do the copies, not Munnalal. Now she does not even want to read what I have written.

Go through the corrections I have made. Part of the portion about Sind is re-written.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

436. A NOTE

Please speak to Shankerlal in any case. I think what Patel says is right. I do not see the need for making me secretary. Am I not already a member of the Committee? Even now nobody does anything without consulting me. I do not understand what the trouble is about.

The old Committee should of course be renominated, and till they are released, there should be new acting members. I have said that (they should be)

Shankerlal (working)

Rajendra Prasad

Ansari

or

Dr. Mahmud

Rajendra Prasad

Ansari

or

Patel

Dr. Mahmud

Ansari

I am not well. I do not think it is necessary to nominate me. It would be right not to nominate me.

From the Gujarati original : G.N. 11574 and 11575

437. *A NOTE*

I like all activities connected with village industries. But I have seen from experience that the primary objective of such exhibitions should be only to educate. And today it is necessary to draw attention particularly to these things which would show the rural people how to make and wear their own khadi and how and what to produce by way of food.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

438. *NOTE TO PYARELAL*

"You must shout to sell your wares" is a well-known song. Only once did I hear it being sung by the Kabraji girls. There is another saying : "Even mother would not serve food unless you ask". The third one is "Some people are so shy that they would feel hot even under the shade of a tree". All these three apply to you. They applied to me also. I could not push myself anywhere. My mother used to get angry with me. In England, Oldfield considered me crone¹. I do not push anybody anywhere. Devdas finds his own way. Mahadev is wanted by everybody because of his mixing nature. Sardar got him on the Working Committee and now he continues to be there.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Sic*

439. NOTE TO PYARELAL

Write to him in Urdu¹:

'Kasturba's name should not be used in that way. No money for that should be taken from any Hindu. If the book cannot be independently published, it should be postponed.'

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

440. NOTE TO PYARELAL

She had a right. I did not get any point about Mataji yesterday. I can understand her keen desire to live with both of you. But I think it is improper for her to go to Mussoorie. If either you or Sushila or both of you have the slightest desire, do stay on. The Harijan work for this week is over. Hence, it is now for you to decide. Consult Mataji.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

441. NOTE TO PYARELAL

I would be happy even if you can draw her to you. She can stay here and be happily absorbed in her work. She can render some service if there is any need. She should not do it under force. Or, she can look after Sevagram or be near Mataji.

Bal's matter also needs to be considered. It would not at all be proper to leave him in the lurch.

¹ In reply to a letter from a Muslim organisation about Islam and cow-protection

I just cannot understand why he should be restless. I shall be happy if you could go [to him] every day. It would be nice if you take him with you even for a few days.

Think over your mental state. If your condition is different from what I have understood, let me know.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

442. NOTE TO PYARELAL

I do not even remember to have written in Hindi. I have no time to talk to anyone. Where then is the question about Lilavati? Here is Manu's letter. I want it back. You may keep a copy if you want. I confess I am like a child before you.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

443. NOTE TO PYARELAL

Do stay back. I shall somehow pick you up from [your] home on my return journey. I am going to Malaviyaji today and so I may be delayed. Only after the prayer I shall go to Malaviyaji, but where would I go after that?

So, she is on the way. That is good.

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

444. *NOTE TO KANCHAN M. SHAH*

I do not like this at all. I can understand their going if they have the need. For you some other remedy should be found. I would not like the idea of the Mahilashram. You can give the necessary services at the Ashram. And you can maintain good health. If your mind is steady and you like the work, then it may be proper for you to stay on at the Ashram. Show this to Munnalal. It is your duty to do as he says. What I have said above should be taken as my personal opinion.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original : C. W. 11321.
Courtesy : Munnalal Shah

445. *SILENCE DAY NOTE*

If you have been able to enter into the spirit of the morning and the evening prayers, I would suggest your continuing them. The hours may be changed if they are unsuitable. But both the prayers as an institution are according to my experience most elevating.

From a copy : Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

446. *A SILENCE DAY NOTE*

If you think it at all proper show me the reply also. I take a very serious view of this thing. It does not matter whether Liaquat sent it or someone in his name.

From a copy: Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

447. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

You have put me a difficult if not awkward question. I hold extreme views about British connection. In spite of my love of the British people I think that their imperialism has been their greatest crime against humanity and specially against India which has been studiously humiliated and emasculated.

The wrong is all the greater because they have turned it into a virtue of which they are proud. The immediate thing therefore the British Government should do is to confess the wrong and undo it. Of the undoing there is no sign as yet visible in the Indian sky. And yet I cannot help thinking that before Britain can claim to have moral supremacy she has to take the first step. Then all else will follow as day follows night. I will not make impertinent suggestions by way of practical steps. The conviction of the wrong will show the way.

From the original : C.W. 4226. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N.7862

448. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

If possible try to write the diary in Hindi. The prayers should cause no difficulty if you will previously learn the meaning. The evening verses are beautifully translated in the *Song Celestial* which you can borrow from Mirabai. The morning prayer is translated in Hindi and can be had in pamphlet-form and by practice you can accustom yourself to the Sanskrit tone.

M.K.G.

From a photostat : G.N. 1290

449. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

If you feel like talking about this or any other thing, I am prepared and will gladly set apart the time. I simply do not worry you

for I have nothing to ask. Your presence gives me and strength. What more do I want? I understand you and you, me.

From a photostat : G.N. 2105

450. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

You met Balwantraji abo[u]t Bhatnagar?
There are 5 lacs for A.I.V.A. work.

From a photostat : G.N. 10200

451. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

Tell Thakkar Bapa he shall have his tour at 12 noon tomorrow.
Bring me a writing pad.

From a photostat : G.N. 10454

452. A SILENCE DAY NOTE

Then do start at two o'clock for your convenience. I would have encouraged you if you had consulted me. I was not at all sleeping. I heard all the *slokas* with attention. If I had been speaking I would have got a lot more done. But I did not wish to create trouble by asking for a lamp. It would not come out well before full preparation. How would I know that it was all ready?

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 7198

453. *A SILENCE DAY NOTE*

Have you thought about it? Quite a lot can be done for the hospital and that amounts to doing Kamala's work. I had asked Kamala today to meet the patients and look after them. You can very well understand the plight of the patients, having yourself gone through a long illness. You won't be able to do nursing and such other activities but you can certainly do what a supervisor can do. It is not possible to allot you some states. But this will become your responsibility. If there is a quarrel among the members of the staff, you can settle it. If the patients have any complaints you can resolve them. Once you take a decision other arrangements will be made easily.

This is the best course. The result can be very good, if you take up this work. I do not think you will be there even at 10.30 tomorrow. At least I shall be free. [Start] with the presumption that you are the managing trustee.

That you will do later on. Work begets work. Even if she is not willing, you alone will do whatever you can.

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 11424

454. *A SILENCE DAY NOTE*

Pride rules her will. She is obstinate, irritable, wayward, incoherent in conversation, she imagines evil, is easily angered. She has become a mystery to me. She is unconscious of her amazing limitations. Her virtues I know and treasure. But this is no place for mentioning them. But for them she could not be here.

From a photostat : G.N. 636

455. *SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR*

Your Urdu letter is good. I could read the whole of it. No more

today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C.W. 4199. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7835

456. SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

You are not everybody else. Will you like to be? If not, don't throw everybody else at once. Does your love require consideration and can't a poor man feel absolutely safe with someone? I thought that one was you. Are you not? Are your jokes always only jokes?

From the original : C.W. 4211. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur; also G.N. 7848

457. SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

One tooth against one or many teeth against one? Many men against one, tooth for tooth, I know. That is an idiom whose meaning I cannot vary. Tooth against tooth is grammatical and can be given its ordinary meaning.

From the original : C.W. 4212. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 9848

458. SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR

Cannot stir before 7 o'clock. I have still to give wire at 7.00 p.m.

From the original : C.W. 4213. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7849

459. *SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMRIT KAUR*

On his own showing Shukla did say that there would be retaliatory treatment. Well, if you are satisfied I have nothing to say.

From the original : C.W. 4216. Courtesy : Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7852

460. *SILENCE DAY NOTE TO AMTUSSALAAM*

There is no faith at all, let alone imperfect faith. I have daily demonstration of failure. I have to argue out every point and then too conviction is rare—obedience is non-existent. It is not obedience.

From a photostat : G.N. 640

461. *SILENCE DAY NOTE TO CHARU BHUSHAN CHOUDHARY*

The work you are doing is of the greatest importance. You have done more than enough for my comfort. You may neglect me. The workers do their best.¹

From a photostat : G.N. 8724

462. *SILENCE DAY NOTE TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

Which Amrit Babu is this? Can I show this to the Sikh friends? I said as much to the audience today.

Don't worry about the road. It will be all right.

From a photostat: G.N. 8718

¹ *Vide* also Vol. LXXVI, p. 231

463. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO ALLAH BUX

SEVAGRAM

KHAN BAHADUR ALLAHBUX
PREMIER
KARACHI

IF YOU PERMIT ME I WOULD SEE PIR PAGARO AND TRY GET LETTER HIS
FOLLOWERS.¹

AMTUSSALAAM

From a photostat in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 750

464. TELEGRAM TO KSHTISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

DELHI

KSHITISH
KHADI PRATISTHAN
SODEPUR ESS.

DELIGHTED COME HERE REPLY.

GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 8729

¹ *Vide* also Suppl. Vol. IV, p.92.

465. *TELEGRAM TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI*

JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
SHEPHERD
MAHUA

IF YOU AND MANU SINCERELY ANXIOUS FOR HER TO BE WITH ME AT ANY RISK
YOU CAN BRING HER TO BE WITH ME.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

466. *TELEGRAM TO ESSOP MOOSA*

BHANGI COLONY,
READING ROAD,
NEW DELHI

ESSOP MOOSA
PRETORIA

REMEMBER WELL HAJEE SAHEB. MY CONDOLENCES FAMILY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

467. TELEGRAM TO NEPALI RASHTRIYA CONGRESS

NEPALI RASHTRIYA CONGRESS
RASLAUL

SORRY FOR TULSIMAHE. AM WIRING AUTHORITIES.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

468. TELEGRAM TO PRIME MINISTER OF NEPAL

PRIME MINISTER
KATHMANDU

LEARN TULSIMAHE LOYALIST FASTING IN PRISON FOR DEPRIVATION OF GITA CHARKHA AND GANDHI KHARAN. HOPE NEWS NOT TRUE. PLEASE WIRE REPLY.

GANDHI

From the original. Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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